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NAME OF SUPERVISOR / NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE DR. DONALD. MASSEY

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THE SOCIAL DECENTRATION AND CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF SELECTED CANADIAN CHILDREN

by

(C) JAMES A. BROWN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Social Decentration and Cultural Understanding of Canadian Children submitted by James A. Brown in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

D. L. Massey
Supervisor

External Examiner

Date September 26, 1975

ABSTRACT

Increasing contact among cultures, enhanced by technological advances, appears to be a growing source of tension and conflict. A greater nead to understand and to appreciate different cultural behaviors, values, and norms is a compelling objective for intergroup accord. The intent of this study was to explore in Canadian children some factors in the development of intercultural understanding.

Sixty children, ages six, eight, and ten, from two communities, one which had regular social contact with native Canadian Indians and the other which had no or limited social contact with this same cultural group, were selected. The individual interview method was used to collect data.

The choice of instruments was based on a model of intercultural education in which individual development progresses from a self awareness to an awareness of an ever broadening socio-cultural world. Tasks attempted to measure an awareness of self as a member of social and cultural groups. Reactions to each subject's own and other cultural groups were obtained, as were measures of reciprocity or cultural understanding toward a group culturally dissimilar from the subject's own group.

The analysis was primarily concerned with determining and comparing the reciprocity which the subjects

demonstrated in their own responses and in responses when taking the role of a Canadian Indian. The relationship of this reciprocity to the ability for social decentration was analyzed.

The results indicated that the subjects were not strongly conscious of their own cultural group memberships, but when presented with cultural groups, showed that they had developed definite feelings about these other groups within Canada. They used mainly linguistic characteristics rather than ancestral origin for their own group identification.

A general increase in affection for other cultural groups with increasing age was found. Social contact with culturally dissimilar people seemed to emphasize this age trend in affection for this particular cultural group.

Reciprocity was found to be related to age, but not to the extent of social contact with a culturally dissimilar people, except very slightly with the older subjects. For those subjects who were able to show reciprocity, most were unable to maintain it when confronted with comparisons which seemed to involve a stronger affective component. The ability to decenter to take more complex social perspectives was found to be significantly related to, but not necessary for, cultural understanding.

This study seemed to indicate that various factors

are related to the development in Canadian children of intercultural understanding. Because children, even at the youngest age in this study, had definite ideas about other cultural groups it would seem relevant to include specific programs of intercultural studies in the social studies curriculum.

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CHAPTER I

THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The Cultural Worlds

Man's interaction with his physical and social environment is constantly changing. Improved methods of transportation and communication have increased our awareness of and interaction with a much broader world, consisting of various geographical and social environments, each with its own distinctive culture and values. "In a very real sense, air transport, radio, and television have made us inhabitants not only of communities, provinces, and countries but of, to use McLuhan's phrase, a 'global village'" (Alberta Department of Education, 1973, p. 7).

Social scientists (Becker and Mehlinger, 1968; Boulding, 1969; Harper, 1969; Bohannan, 1973) state that there have developed in the world two distinct cultural systems in which man may have membership. At one level, there is a large scale, world-wide macroculture; at another are small scale, local microcultures. The former has various versions, for example, world-wide communism, international business, or international terrorism, and transcends national boundaries. The latter consist of people drawn together by bonds such as religion, club affiliation,

labour union membership, or ethnicity. All human life can be said to belong to one, the other, or to both cultural systems.

Tensions between the two levels of culture are common. The micro- or traditional cultures, which are characterized partly by the feelings of security and personal interest they generate, attempt to maintain a group's identity and individuality. This often involves stressing the difference of the group from other microcultures. Man seems to have a need to belong. "The chief condition of growth seems to be belonging and that is true of the single cell as well as of the individual and any social group which seeks a continuing life as a group" (Giles, cited in Alberta Department of Education, 1973). "Wanting to belong is one of the strongest tendencies in the individual member of a human society" (ibid.). The microcultures fulfil this basic need for a sense of belonging. However, "the superculture moves toward uniformity, the absence of discrimination, and differentiation by roles rather than by race or class or other ascribed category" (Boulding, 1969, p. 347). Thus the super- or macroculture stresses the commonality of a huge cross section of the world's population, and is unable to fulfil to the same degree the need for individuality or for a secure sense of belonging. Boulding feels that "it is hardly too much to say that all the major problems of the world today revolve around the tension

between these two cultural systems" (1969, p. 347).

Stresses and conflicts occur too among the microcultures, which are meeting face to face more frequently in a changing, shrinking world. These smaller cultural groups tend to claim greater affection and loyalty, and this in turn implies some degree of acceptance of particular ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. It may be speculated that maintaining these loyalties and a feeling of belonging to one cultural group hinders the development of an understanding of the points of view of other cultural groups. Taba writes:

> These emotional valuations acquired in the process of learning a personality create at once stability and unity within a culture and a problem of ethnocentricity in intercultural relations. Socialization into one culture inevitably creates barriers to understanding the values of another culture. Because individuals are conditioned to the behavior, values, and norms of a given society, their capacity to understand and to appreciate that which is different from their own culture is limited (1962, p. 52).

The result may be that "to some people the very notion of common membership in the human species poses a threat, for they feel a need to see themselves and their own particular group as sharply distinct, even superior to the rest of mankind" (Anderson, 1968a, p. 643).

Some would say that the world's greatest problems exist at the microcultural, rather than at the macrocultural, level. Becker and Mehlinger state that the "factors that divide one national population from another would seem to be growing relatively less significant,

while those that separate groups within nations assume new salience" (1968, p. 2).

The model of the world presented here is that of a dynamic system of interrelated cultures. Neither the macroculture nor the microcultures are isolated, static entities, but interact and affect one another. Man is not only a member of small scale cultures but is becoming a member of a world-wide culture. Although he needs the feeling of belonging derived from the microcultures, it may be that some identification with all mankind is of equal importance for his future in a world of increasing interaction. Monez states that

> his survival may well depend upon how rapidly he can shed preeminent postures of exclusive, militant, and highly personal identifications with a particular society, local culture, or nation-state, and establish identifications and loyalty to humanity as a whole (1973, p. 32).

The beginning of the development of a broader identification would require an individual to look beyond himself and his own group to understand culturally different groups with whom he comes into contact. Once he can accept diversity on a local scale, he may move toward an understanding and acceptance of the many varied cultures of the world. A broader identification based on the similarities of all mankind will hopefully develop. Although this study concentrates on intercultural understanding on a local basis, its concern is for the development of understanding of both small scale cultures and the

large scale culture. More precisely, a small segment of the cultural scene within Canada is examined.

The Canadian Cultural Scene

> The Canadian scene is also animated by numerous groups of various ethnic origins. . . . Many of these groups have kept cherished customs, or the use of their language, or deep allegiances to the memories of their countries of more or less ancient origin (Falardeau, 1961, p. 48).

Tensions among the microcultures within Canada have created serious conflicts which, at times, threaten its future existence as a unified state. The commissioners of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism state:

> All we have seen and heard has led us to the conviction that Canada is in the most critical period of its history since Confederation. We believe that there is a crisis, in the sense that Canada has come to a time when decisions must be taken and developments must occur leading either to its break-up, or to a new set of conditions for its future existence. We do not know whether the crisis will be short or long. We are convinced that it is here. The signs of danger are many and serious (Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1965, p. 133).

Lapierre claims that "we have become obsessed with negativism and cultural defensiveness of near paranoic dimensions" (1969, p. 1).

In its social forecasts on intergroup relations, the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning stated that

> the most serious widening of divisions in society

> will take place along cultural, regional, economic and colour lines. Opposing groups—rich-poor, young-old, French-English, red-white, management-labour—will draw further apart as they attempt to promote their special and often conflicting interests (1972, p. 4).

The need for harmonious relations between micro-cultures within Canada is evident. One method to achieve this objective has been an attempt to mould a single Canadian culture—the 'melting pot' approach. However, Canada has two official languages, and because language is an inseparable component of culture, to aim for one distinct Canadian culture is unrealistic. In addition, many Canadians and immigrants from non-French and non-English speaking origins have not wished to lose their ethnic identity. To them, the 'melting pot' approach would have meant the adoption of one of the two majority groups' cultures. Other approaches need to be developed and implemented if the various ethnocultural groups are to exist in harmony within the one nation.

In recent years a new government policy has been put forward. In 1971, the Prime Minister stated:

> A policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians. Such a policy should help to break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies (In Haidasz, 1973, p. 4).

The Minister of State for Multiculturalism, in reply to the Speech from the Throne in 1973, stated:

> National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can

> grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence. . . . The government's determination to provide all ethnocultural groups with a sense of belonging without first having to sacrifice their cultural heritage, will be regarded as one of the truly enlightened and just policies adopted by any administration (Haidasz, 1973, p. 4).

This policy attempts to promote cultural plurality with the aim of increasing an individual's self awareness and sense of security in the hope that this "sense of security of knowing who you are prepares you to allow others to be what they are" (First annual report of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, 1975, p. 40).

Education and Intercultural Understanding

The context of intercultural education. Various terms are used to designate the area of education relevant to this study. Some of these terms are cross-cultural, cultural, intercultural, international, transnational, intergroup and peace education. A comparison of the objectives and content of these areas indicates considerable similarity. Most indicate the responsibility of the educational system to develop citizens who understand their own cultures or nations and who have the ability and desire to understand other cultures and nations. The term 'intercultural' used in this study may include the study of microcultures and the interaction among them, as well

as the macroculture and its relationship to the micro-cultures. Intercultural studies may, at times, be synonymous with international studies, particularly where a culture and a nation share common boundaries. All studies may specify mutual understanding as an objective. A definition and a statement of the objectives of intercultural education which have been adopted for this study are given on pages 9 to 11.

Viewpoints on intercultural education. From the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization viewpoint, a major goal of education is to develop a knowledge of the ways of other cultures, often associated with nations, and to develop an appreciation of the validity of loyalty to modes of life associated with them (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1959, 1967).

The National Council for the Social Studies has, by designating two of its recent yearbooks, No. 38 as International Dimensions in the Social Studies and No. 43 as Teaching Ethnic Studies, focused attention on the study of intercultural education.

The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism acknowledged the important role education has in encouraging cultural understanding by recommending to the federal government that

the Minister [of Multiculturalism] develop a closer

> liaison with provincial authorities in the field of education for the purpose of introducing the multicultural dimension into our educational systems (1975, p. 50).

The Second Canadian Conference on Education recommended that "all concerned with education strive to develop a true and sympathetic understanding of all peoples and nations" (1962, p. 262).

Taba indicated precisely the responsibility and components of the educational system which could help society:

> The development of crosscultural sensitivity, whether with regard to other national cultures or in relation to subcultures within a nation, is therefore one of the tasks of the school if it desires to prepare people to live in a vastly expanded world with interdependent heterogeneous cultures. . . . The first task in achieving this objective is perhaps to examine . . . not only new curriculum patterns and materials but also new ways of enhancing the capacity to put oneself into the shoes of the 'other' (1962, pp. 23-24).

Therefore, if the educational system is to help develop intercultural understanding, it should consider the best possible curriculum for this goal.

Goals for intercultural education. The need for more precise goals and objectives for intercultural education has been expressed by different writers (Snyder, 1972, p. 1; Social Science Education Consortium, 1973, p. 64). A survey of various sources of goals for intercultural education indicates some commonality. The following goals outlined by the Social Science Education

Consortium (1973, pp. 27-30) have been accepted as being sufficiently valid and relevant for this study. As stated, these goals were designed with children from kindergarten to senior high school in mind.

1. Awareness of self:

- awareness of self in a world perspective based on knowledge of the commonality of cultural conflicts within and between nations and on knowledge of the two-storey culture and conflicts within it

- concern for the individual's concept of self in its physical, emotional, and ideational aspects, and with the individual's concept of his interactions with others, his impact on them, and their impact on him.

2. Awareness of mankind:

- individual must be aware not only of himself, but also of the species of which he is a member

- this implies respect, appreciation, and empathy among members of the species, and acceptance of the traditional values of many societies.

3. Ability to accept, cope with, and profit from cultural diversity:

- the individual should be able:

(a) to accept diversity by understanding that it is not harmful, and to a large extent desirable

(b) to cope with diversity so that he is not hurt by his own traits and associations or by those of

others

(c) to learn to benefit from the new methods, ideas, and outlooks which cultural diversity brings.

4. Ability to communicate clearly and interact constructively with individuals and groups having a wide variety of interests and cultural backgrounds:

- good communications and constructive interaction are essential to the other goals listed here.

5. Ability to manage social conflicts based on cultural differences:

- management rather than abolition of conflict is a feasible goal.

These goals relate to a dynamic concept of world cultures. They move outward from very individualistic goals to broad societal ones.

PROBLEM

Intercultural understanding is one aspect of a person's social learning. What development must occur before a child understands and appreciates peoples belonging to other cultural groups? Ambrose and Meil state that in a child's social learning "most of the decisions a person has to make call for an understanding of the other fellow's point of view, a willingness to examine it and judge it on its merits" (1958, p. 7).

Anderson says that "to understand the system, the

individual must transform the strange into the familiar, which he does by 'stepping into another's shoes' and in so doing acquires an awareness of the commonality of human experience" (1968b, p. 90).

According to Taba, the child must "disengage from an egocentric view toward the world. This idea has implications for sequences of the curriculum and expectations of achievement" (1962, p. 90).

Ambrose and Meil state that

> the school is expected to help the child move into ever widening frames of reference, expanding his awareness of people and encompassing ever more time and space in thinking and problem solving (1958, p. 23).

Piaget, in discussing the child's development of the understanding of others says that "the child must make a considerable effort toward 'decentration' or broadening of his centres of interest . . ." (1954, p. 562).

It would appear that before an individual can develop an understanding of another person's point of view he may have to decenter psychologically from his own viewpoint. In order to develop an understanding of other cultural groups he must develop an awareness of and identification with a widening world. These two types of decentering are represented diagramatically in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. Both types seem to be related to the goals for intercultural education outlined on pages 10 and 11, where the individual moves from the development of an awareness

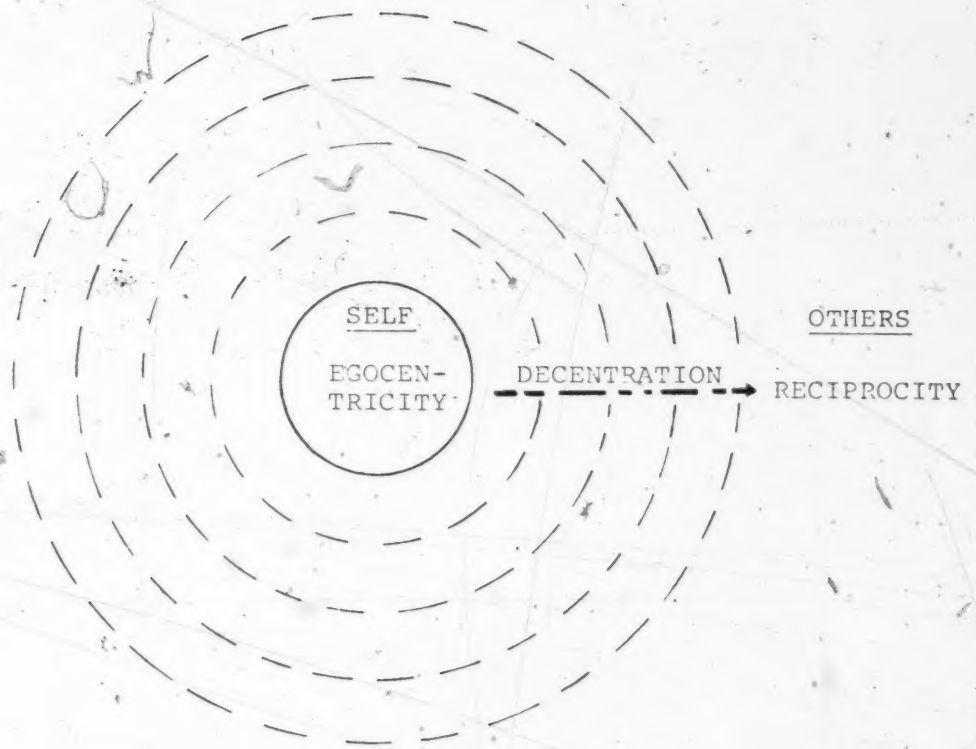


Figure 1.1

The Child's Psychological Decentration

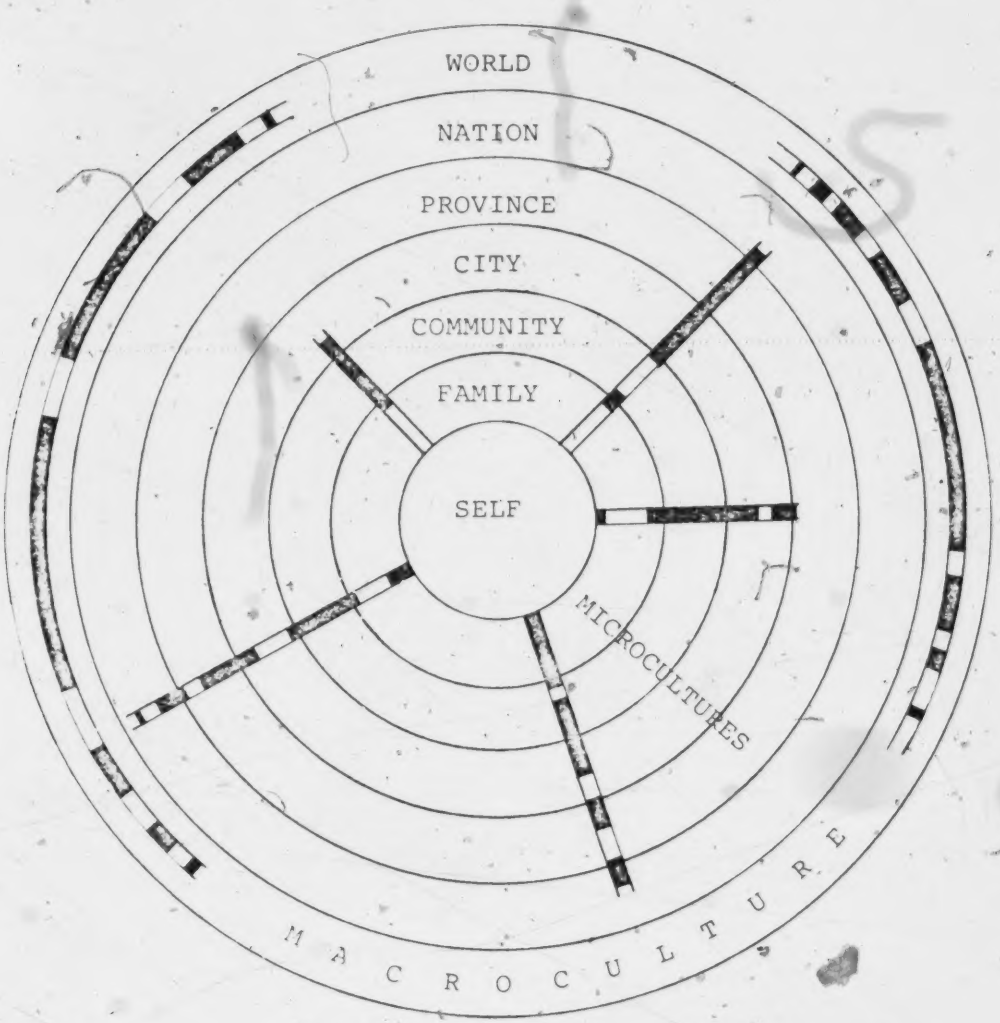


Figure 1.2

The Child's Decentering Socio-cultural World

of the self outward to an awareness and understanding of different cultural groups and finally to all mankind. In a sense, these decentration processes are inseparable since all decentration must begin with the individual, that is, with psychological development.

If the ability to decenter is developmental in nature and is related to understanding culturally different people, then the implications may be of considerable importance to the social studies curriculum. Furthermore, if this ability is developmentally determined, it would be valuable to be able to identify psychological and/or socio-cultural influences which affect this development.

The purpose of this study is to determine how the Canadian child's decentration patterns develop and how they relate to his cultural understanding. This will be explored by attempting to answer the following research questions.:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How do Canadian children perceive themselves?
   (a) Do Canadian children perceive themselves as members of social or cultural groups?
   (b) Is there an age group difference in Canadian children's self-perceptions as members of social or cultural groups?
   (c) What relationships, if any, exist between

Canadian children's group identification, and their cultural background and principal language usage?

2. How do Canadian children perceive different cultural groups within Canada?

   (a) For which cultural groups in Canada do Canadian children show affection?

   (b) Is there an age group difference among Canadian children in their degree of affection for different cultural groups?

   (c) To what degree is this affection for different cultural groups in Canada related to the extent of social contact which Canadian children have with culturally dissimilar groups?

3. How does Canadian children's reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar groups develop?

   (a) Is there an age group difference in reciprocity towards culturally dissimilar groups for:

      (i) children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

      (ii) children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

   (b) Is there a difference within age groups between Canadian children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group and

Canadian children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group in their reciprocity toward this group?

4. Is social decentration related to the development of reciprocity toward other cultural groups?

   (a) Is there a difference in reciprocity shown toward other cultural groups between children who demonstrate a high level of social decentration and children who demonstrate a low level of social decentration?

   (b) Is the development of social decentration a necessary condition for reciprocity toward other cultural groups?

5. Can influences which may affect Canadian children's relations with different cultural groups be identified and mapped?

   (a) Is there a difference in the reasons Canadian children give for showing or not showing affection toward culturally dissimilar groups from their own point of view and when taking the point of view of others?

   (b) Is age or amount of social contact with culturally dissimilar people related to the

reasons Canadian children give for showing or not showing affection toward culturally dissimilar groups from their own point of view and when taking the point of view of others?

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are defined for use in this study.

Functional Definitions

Unconscious Egocentricity: A state in which the child sees and thinks about his world from his own point of view and is unable to conceive that other people may have different points of view. In this state he does not understand other people's points of view because he cannot, as opposed to the adult who does not because he will not.

Conscious Egocentricity: A state in which the child is aware that others may have points of view different from his own but does not take them into consideration because of his own feelings, interests, and wishes.

Sociocentricity: A state in which the individual's perception of the world is influenced by his family or

other societal reference groups. Sociocentricity may occur in various forms at the child's different and broadening centers of interest. Sociocentricity may hinder the individual from understanding the points of view of other individuals or social groups.

Reciprocity: The objective understanding of other people's points of view.

Decentration: The development of mental operations by which an individual is gradually able to differentiate between his own point of view and the points of view of others. This enables the child to develop broadening centers of interest in his physical and social world, and to subordinate his egocentric interests to those of widening socio-cultural groups.

Canadian Children: Children who resided permanently in Canada at the time of the study.

Canadian Cultural Groups: Significant groups of people in Canada who share common ways of living, thinking, and feeling. Members have common language, and share common customs, habits, and experiences. Although some groups may be more specifically described as ethno-cultural groups, a standard term 'cultural group' will be used.

Group 1: Thirty subjects who have had little or no social contact with a large group of culturally different people; in particular, subjects who have had limited

social contact with native Canadian Indians.

Group 2: Thirty subjects who have had social contact with a large group of culturally different people; in particular, subjects who have had regular social contact with native Canadian Indians.

Intercultural Education: "A structuring of learning experiences that will help both students and teachers understand and use concepts for understanding and working towards solutions of individual and intergroup problems—local, international, and world-wide—that arise from cultural diversity" (Social Science Education Consortium, 1973, p. 31).

Operational Definitions

Unconscious Egocentric Thinking: Responses which indicate that the subject is unaware of the point of view, hence the thoughts and feelings, of another person when asked

(a) to indicate who the other person would choose as a friend or as a cultural group to belong to, or

(b) to evaluate whose choices, his or the other person's, are more right, or whether the friends or cultural groups he chose are nicer or smarter than those chosen by the other person.

Reciprocity: 1. In choosing a friend or a cultural group to belong to for another person, the subject will take

the view point, hence will consider the thoughts and feelings, of the other person, in making the choice.

2. When asked 'Who is more right, nicer, or smarter?' in order to ascertain the subject's evaluation of his own and the other person's choices of friends or cultural groups to belong to, he

(a) will see the relativity of the choices, and therefore

(b) will take the objective viewpoint of a third person who states that neither choice is better.

Conscious Egocentric Thinking: The subject is able to, but does not, show reciprocity based on his own personal interests.

Sociocentric Thinking: The subject is able to, but does not, show reciprocity based on his societal reference group's interests and values.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

In mathematics and science curriculum development and instructional methodology, Piaget's concepts of mental operations and conservation have had profound influence. Since these concepts are central to learning about the physical and logical world, they may have as much influence in learning about the social world and upon the social

studies curriculum.

> Application of the Piagetian model to social studies depends on how the genetic epistemological model can be used. The Piagetian system describes the general cognitive processes or operations involved in knowledge acquisition. It would therefore be reasonable to assume that information from the social environment is acquired by the same mechanisms. Thus, the social science curriculum builder may well find that the relevance of Piaget to his areas of concern lies more in the conception of mental operations. The teacher who observes how the child thinks and reasons in one area will be alerted to how the child thinks and reasons in other areas. For example, the teacher who knows that a child is a nonconserver should be alert to the possibility of nonconservation in social science concepts. The conservation principle is relevant to the social domain, and this was recently demonstrated by Feffer and Suchotliff (1966), who employed the concept in a study of social interaction. The concept of conservation apparently has wide applicability to many situations (Sigel, 1969, p. 486).

Decentration is basic to conservation and also moves the child from an egocentric to a non-egocentric view of his world. Decentration may also be necessary in the development of reciprocity of the thoughts and feelings which would facilitate the understanding of culturally different people. This understanding has been outlined as an important aspect of the social studies curriculum. This present study is mainly concerned with this transition from egocentric to non-egocentric thought and the goal of cultural understanding.

The need for further research in the area of this study is referred to by Becker (1969, p. 221) in his examinations of objectives, needs, and priorities in international education. He recommends:

(a) studies of egocentrism in children's perceptions or modes of thinking.

(b) studies of the development and/or decay of ethnocentrism in children's perceptions or modes of thinking.

Torney and Morris state that "the ability to take the perspective of another person may be prerequisite to the acceptance of different or unfamiliar characteristics of others" (1972, p. 9). This statement indicates a need to provide further findings before a more conclusive relationship can be established. Since this study involves taking the perspective of culturally different peoples, it may add relevant information.

Wallach states that research has concentrated on the child's knowledge of the physical or non-social world with the result that the "extent to which thinking about the social environment follows similar or different ontogenetic patterns must remain an open question at this point" (1963, p. 270). Flavell, Botkin, Fry, Wright, and Jarvis state that Piaget (1926) and others "have suggested that role-taking skills . . . do develop with age, but very little experimental work has been done to test their suggestions" (1963, p. 1).

There are studies related in various ways to the areas under consideration. This study will bring together a rather unique combination of these areas, and will

attempt to determine whether a developmental trend toward non-egocentric thoughts and feelings of reciprocity exist when Canadian children make decisions about other Canadians who are culturally different. Such findings may provide information about whether a need exists to include in the social studies curriculum more emphasis on intergroup or intercultural understanding among Canadians. It may indicate which particular cultural groups should be included in the curriculum. If a developmental pattern exists, the study may also indicate the ages at which such studies should be introduced in order to make learning more meaningful by linking it directly to the mental structures of the learners.

LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

Because this study deals with a small sample from one particular area of Canada, generalizations to other areas having different cultural influences may be limited.

The sample did not include children from all cultural groups living in Canada. In particular, the Canadian Indian and Canadian Eskimo groups were not represented. Therefore, the term 'Canadian children' is limited in scope by the groups which were used in the study.

The influence of the proximity of a culturally different group of people is difficult to measure or

regulate. Consequently generalization of the findings which compare sub-samples, will need to be considered with caution.

The decentration and cultural understanding instruments have been used in other studies but no statistically rigid measures of their reliability or validity have been established. They were chosen because they were considered to be the most theoretically sound instruments for the measurements required.

The subjects' responses were systematically categorized by well-qualified judges. However, without intent, some subjectivity may have entered into the scoring.

This is an exploratory study. The findings may contribute more as the basis for further similar studies than in providing definite conclusions.

ASSUMPTIONS

For this study it was assumed:

1. that the development of the ability and desire to understand the points of view of peoples from other cultural groups is commonly accepted as a desirable educational goal.

2. that the students' choices and verbal responses indicated their true thoughts and feelings in response to the instruments.

3. that the instruments provide valid measurements.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

Chapter I introduces the need for intercultural understanding and relates this to the Canadian context. Specific research questions are presented, the answers to which may provide knowledge about development patterns of Canadian children. A review of selected related literature is presented in Chapter II. Chapter III reports a detailed account of the procedures and instruments used in conducting the study. The methods used to analyze the data and the results of the data analysis are presented in Chapter IV. The final chapter, Chapter V, contains a summary, discussion of the findings, implications for intercultural education, and suggestions for further research.

SUMMARY

The earth may be viewed as a dynamic unit comprised of many cultures of various sizes. It is becoming more necessary for individuals to understand others who belong to different cultures. The education system and in particular the social studies curriculum would appear to have a responsibility to help children to understand these different cultural worlds. To be able to decenter from one's own viewpoint to an awareness of and understanding of the viewpoints of others seems to be a necessary development. This study attempts to trace this development

and some of its influences with elementary school children in one area of Canada.

CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents first a brief overview of some aspects of Piaget's developmental theory which are relevant to the theoretical base of this study. The development of decentration, with particular reference to the child's social world, will be outlined for each of Piaget's stages. Second is a discussion of decentration and role taking, followed by an examination of studies which attempt to show the relationship between role taking tasks and decentration tasks involving physical objects, as well as between these types of tasks and interpersonal interaction tasks. Next is a review of studies which consider the need for decentration in moral development, and finally, studies which have related the concept of decentration to the international aspect of intercultural education are reviewed. Relationships between the above areas will be discussed as they pertain to the ability for decentration. The related literature outlined in the following review provides the theoretical base for the study.

DECENTRATION AND PIAGET'S DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

In summarizing Piaget's work Genesee (1974) indicates that the main index of mental development is the degree of egocentrism. As egocentrism diminishes, the child is increasingly more able to decenter and to view his world from different perspectives. This major change, according to Piaget, follows developmental stages. Piaget has identified the following stages of development:

1. Sensori-motor stage - birth to 1 1/2 years
2. Preoperational stage - 1 1/2 to 7 or 8 years
3. Concrete operational stage - 7 or 8 years to 12 years
4. Formal operational stage - beyond 12 years.

The basic characteristics of these stages are:

1. The order of succession of the stages is constant, although the average age at which they occur may vary with the individual.

2. Each stage is characterized by an overall structure which explains the main behavior patterns.

3. Each overall structure results from a preceding one, integrating it as a subordinate, and is itself sooner or later integrated by another until the attainment of the formal operational stage.

Piaget states that the factors which influence the rate of development through these stages are:

1. Maturation

2. Experience (physical and logico-mathematical)

3. Social interaction and transmission

4. Equilibration.

Although all factors have relevance for this study, social interaction and transmission are of greater importance since this study is concerned with the development of the individual's ability to interact with his particular society and to understand different socio-cultural groups.

The development of decentration of thought can be traced through the above stages.

Sensori-motor Stage

Piaget and Inhelder state that in the sensori-motor stage

> the child's initial universe is entirely centered on his own body and action in an egocentrism as total as it is unconscious (for lack of consciousness of the self). In the course of the first eighteen months, however, there occurs a kind of Copernican revolution, or, more simply, a kind of general decentering process whereby the child eventually comes to regard himself as an object among others in a universe that is made up of permanent objects (1969, p. 13).

This construction of an objective and 'decentered' universe results from the development of cognitive schemes. At the same time the child's affective development proceeds from a lack of differentiation between the self and the physical and human world toward the development of emotional attachments which relate the differentiated self to other persons or things.

Piaget states that these two types of development, the cognitive and the affective, cannot be reduced to a single aspect. In all behavior the structure is cognitive and the force or energizer is affective, but neither is the cause of the other. All behavior, then, consists of both cognitive and affective components.

Preoperational Stage

With the appearance of the symbolic function and memory of evocation in the preoperational stage, the affective relationship with an object may be present and active even in its physical absence. "This fundamental fact results in the formation of new affects in the form of lasting sympathies or antipathies toward other people and of a permanent awareness and valorization of oneself as regards the ego" (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969, p. 115). This "semiotic function makes thought possible by providing it with an unlimited field of application, in contrast to the restricted boundaries of sensori-motor action and perception" (ibid., p. 91). It is during this preoperational stage that "the child's conception of his environment and its operation is coherently organized. Conceptualization permits a more decentered adaptation to the world than either sensori-motor schemes or perception" (Baldwin, 1967, p. 243).

Although the symbolic function and memory produce further decentration, the child is still trapped in an

egocentric interpretation of the world. Piaget explains this as assimilation without adaptation in the child's social world. He states that the child is

> constantly assimilating others to itself, which is to say that being unable to penetrate below the surface of their behavior and their motives it cannot understand them except by reducing everything to its own point of view, and by projecting its own thoughts and desires into them. As long as it has not mastered both the social instruments of exchange or mutual comprehension and the discipline that subjects the self to the rules of reciprocity, it is quite evident that the child has no choice but to believe itself the centre of both the social and the physical worlds, and to judge everything by means of egocentric assimilation to itself (1970, p. 175).

Wright indicates the consequences of this pervasive egocentric state upon the preoperational stage child's social relationships.

> Because he cannot conceive that from someone else's point of view a situation may look different, the child is not capable of genuine cooperation with others, and in his efforts to communicate with others he seems unaware of the possibility that he may be misunderstood and therefore does not take steps to ensure that he has been understood (1971, p. 46).

Concrete Operational Stage

Elkind states that

> towards the end of the preoperational period, the differentiation between symbols and their referents is gradually brought about by the emergence of concrete operations. . . . One consequence of concrete operational thought is that it enables the child to deal with two elements, properties, or relations at the same time (1970, p. 53).

In working with physical objects such as a short, broad glass of water, the concrete operational child realizes that the volume remains constant when the water

is poured into a tall, thin glass. The preoperational child, who cannot deal with both width and height simultaneously, usually does not decenter perceptually and thus centers on either height or width and believes that the water increases or decreases in volume when placed into the taller thinner glass.

In understanding that the volume does not change the concrete operational child realizes that if the water is poured back into the original container its volume would be the same as in the first situation. Thus, the child can manage the function of reversibility which is necessary for conservation of volume.

A great deal of research has been conducted to determine ages at which children are capable of conservation of quantity, weight, and volume. The results have been quite consistent and indicate a strong relationship between age and conservation. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the ability to decenter, when dealing with physical objects, is also related to age.

The concrete operational child is able to comprehend that someone else has a viewpoint which may be different from his own. This development has profound influence upon his social exchanges. The child

> no longer confuses his own point of view with that of others. He is able both to dissociate his point of view from that of others and to coordinate these different points of view . . . True discussions are now possible in that the child shows comprehension with respect to the other's point of view and a search

for justification and proof with respect to his own statements (Piaget, 1967, p. 39).

Formal Operational Stage

The child frees himself from concrete reality and is able to think in abstract terms. This decentering prepares him for adolescence by liberating him from a centering on the present to consider also the past and the future. He can then think in terms of ideals and hypotheses which he applies to an ever widening universe. This change in perspective is as important for affective and social development as it is for the cognitive. His interest in interpersonal and social values takes on increased importance.

Figure 2.1 presents development from an egocentric state towards reciprocity. It is when cognitive and affective components and functions are integrated that decentration is possible. Egocentric and sociocentric influences may hinder the attainment of reciprocity.

Implications for this Study

1. According to Piaget, the child's development occurs in stages.

2. The child progresses from a state of being completely centered upon himself in the sensori-motor stage to a state where he can separate his own thoughts from an ever widening universe.

3. This progression involves a decentration from

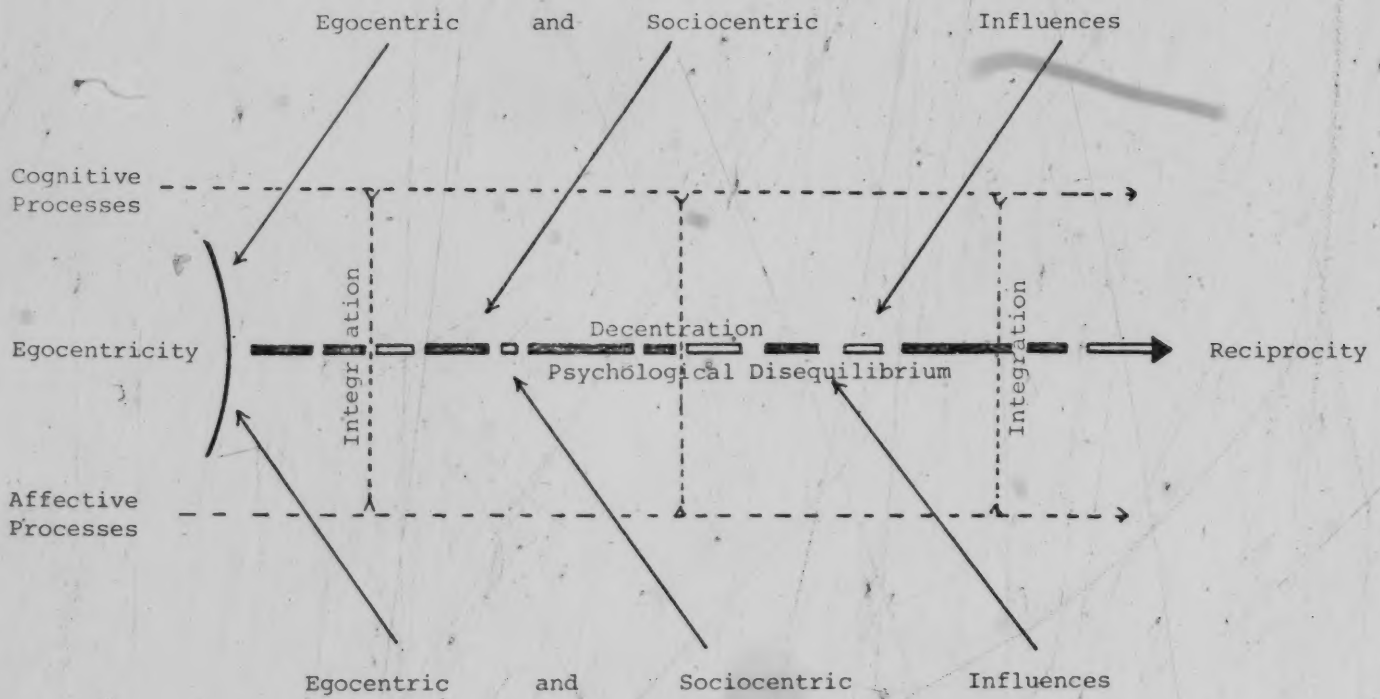


Figure 2.1

Some Factors Affecting Decentration

an egocentric to a non-egocentric view of the world.

DECENTRATION AND ROLE TAKING

According to Flavell (1968) role taking involves discrimination of role attributes of other persons. It consists basically of cognitive and perceptual processes through which the subject gains information about another by adopting the other's perspective or attitude. Hence he gains an awareness of how his own may differ from another's. His purpose is not to play the role of the other but to understand it. This understanding may be a powerful influence in promoting better relationships between individuals or groups, and may also lead to better communication between them.

To be capable of role taking the individual must decenter from his own perspective to take that of the other. This presupposes a decentration from an egocentric to a non-egocentric perspective.

Role taking tasks involving mainly perceptual and mainly conceptual abilities are discussed first. Various role taking tasks and their relationship to decentration with physical objects are included next. Third, the relationship of role taking and decentration with physical objects, to other interpersonal interactions is examined.

Perceptual Role Taking

Several studies have investigated the ability to decenter perceptually for the purpose of taking the role of the other. Piaget and Inhelder (1956), subsequently replicated by Lovell (1959), studied children's ability to take another's visual perspective by viewing a scene consisting of three differently shaped mountains and a lake. The subject sits facing the scene. A doll is placed at eight different positions so that it hypothetically views the scene from each side of the table and from the corners. The subject is to select from a series of pictures the one which represents the view seen by the doll as the experimenter places it at each position. It was found with children 4 to 11 years of age that the ability to infer visual perspectives which differ from the child's own was strongly age dependent.

Flavell (1966), using boys and girls from grades 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11, was "able to confirm Piaget and Inhelder's findings that the ability to predict the visual perspective of the other increases markedly during middle childhood" (p. 172).

Neale (1966) investigated the influence of socialization on perceptual role taking using the three mountain task. He matched, according to mental age, intelligence, and sex, 8, 9, 10, and 11 year old boys and girls from an institution for emotionally disturbed children with others

attending a typical public school. He found children with poor social adjustment to be significantly more egocentric. The institutionalized group indicated no significant correlation between age and egocentricity whereas the public school group did. Both groups indicated a significant correlation between intelligence and inability to decenter. Simeonsson (1973) using groups of normal children and of children with different types of emotional disturbances, ages 7 to 12, with an intelligence quotient range of 85 to 115, found results similar to Neale. Thus, it appears that normal socialization may influence the ability to decenter.

Conceptual Role Taking

With the same subjects used in a previously reported study, Flavell (1966) tested their ability to decenter from one stimulus to another. An ordered series of seven pictures, comic-strip fashion, illustrated a story of a boy being chased by a dog, running down a street, climbing a tree, and eating an apple as the dog trots away. The subject is asked to tell a story about the pictures. Three specific pictures which eliminate the fear of dog motive for climbing the tree are then removed. The subject is again asked to tell the story. If the child is able to leave this fear of dog motive out of his second story he is assumed to have decentered. Most grade four and older students had little difficulty with the task, while the second and third graders had trouble keeping the

second story from being contaminated by the previous sequence.

A third study by Flavell (1966), involving conceptual and social role taking skills, required children to impute what an observer might be thinking in a guessing game involving money hidden under one of two cups turned upside down. Different categories of response strategies were constructed. With girls from grades 3, 7, and 11 the frequency of simpler strategies decreased with age as the more complicated strategy increased.

Relationship Between Decentering with Physical Objects and with Role Taking Tasks

A limited number of studies have examined the relationship between decentering with respect to physical objects and decentration on interpersonal role taking tasks. Where physical objects are involved, the thought has mainly a cognitive component, and emotional or affective aspects are usually of less importance. However when interaction is with people, thought again consists of a cognitive component but may involve an affective component ranging from weak to very strong. The studies discussed here, although involving role taking tasks, stress the cognitive rather than the affective component of role taking.

Feffer and Gourevitch (1960) hypothesized that there was a relationship between decentering when

structuring the physical world and decentering reflected in the ability to assume different social perspectives. They assumed that both activities reflect cognitive abilities which in turn reflect developmental trends. For the physical decentration tasks they used four Piagetian type group classification and conservation of quantity tests which they interpreted as requiring the ability for balanced decentering. The test of social perspectives involved role taking ability as measured by the interpretation of a series of pictures, in which the subject was asked to interpret a family scene from the viewpoint of each character present. They found using boys ages six to thirteen, that with age and verbal intelligence controlled, there was a positive relationship between Piagetian task decentering and role taking task decentering. Developmental trends were indicated as "older children show[ed] a greater degree of balanced decentering than [did] younger children in their structuring of impersonal cognitive tasks as well as in their role taking behavior" (p. 392).

Rubin stated that

> few studies exist relating the interpersonal concept of egocentrism with the impersonal concept of conservation (1973, p. 103). The major thrust of [this] study was the examination of the 'centration' hypothesis (Feffer 1970; Looft 1972; Piaget 1950). [The] concept of centration [is used to explain] the child's inability to shift his attention from only one aspect of an object during conservation tasks, to the analysis of interpersonal behavior. Feffer's underlying assumption was that the same processes or at least, parallel

> processes are involved in impersonal cognition (person to object) and interpersonal cognition (person to person) (ibid., p. 108).

In Rubin's study several measures of egocentricism, including Miller's (1970) measure of role taking egocentrism, were correlated with conservation tasks involving two-dimensional space, number, substance, weight, and volume. With boys and girls from kindergarten, grades 2, 4, and 6, controlled for age, Rubin found "measures of spatial, role taking, and communicative egocentrism, as well as conservation seemed to form a cluster defined by their significant interrelationships" (ibid.). "An age-related centration factor seems to exist which reflects the interrelationships between measures of interpersonal egocentrism and conservation" (ibid., p. 109).

Sullivan and Hunt (1967) studied the effect of age and social class on interpersonal and objective decentering. Using lower and middle class boys, ages 7, 9, and 11 they found that social decentration was significantly related to age for both groups. Decentration was found to be related to social class only when intelligence was not controlled. Using Piaget's three mountain task and Feffer's (1959) role taking task no significant relationship between the two tasks was evident. Lack of comparability of the measures and differential levels of difficulty were put forth as possible explanations for this lack of relationship.

The influence of socialization on role taking tasks was researched by Hollos and Cowan (1973). They tested three groups of Norwegian children, ages 7, 8, and 9, on Piagetian tasks of logical operations and on role taking tasks. One group was from a farming area, one from a village, and the third from a town. They found that while farm children scored as well as the other groups on the tests of logical operations, they scored significantly lower on the role taking tasks. The town children had the highest role taking scores. The researchers attributed the difference in role taking scores to the difference in the opportunity for social interaction which each group has.

Relationship of Decentration with Physical Objects or Role Taking Tasks and Other Interpersonal Interactions

Feffer and Suchotliff attempted to "bring these 'cold-blood aspects of cognition' (Flavell, 1963) into contact with the interpersonal domain" (1966, p. 415). They sought to determine whether ability to role take as indicated by Feffer and Gourevitch's (1960) instrument was related to decentering implications of interactions between two individuals. Male and female undergraduate university students were placed into 18 dyads on the basis of their role taking task scores. These dyads were subsequently evaluated in regard to their effectiveness on a pass word task requiring cooperative social interaction.

Controlling for vocabulary and word fluency it was concluded that there was a significant relationship between role taking and ability for social interaction.

Cowan (1966) explored the relationship of Piaget's non-verbal three mountain task and conservation tasks, to social communication tasks. Boys, 8, 9, and 10 years old, were paired similarly to Feffer and Suchotliff's study. Ability to decenter on the first test was highly related to success on social interaction tasks. Cowan states "that Piaget's concept of egocentrism appears to be useful in exploring in a developmental context, the relation between cognition and social behavior" (p. 623).

Implications for this Study

1. There appears to be no significant relationship between decentration tasks involving physical objects or role taking tasks and sex.

2. Ability to decenter with physical objects and in role taking tasks is strongly age dependent.

3. Socialization appears to have an effect on decentration with physical objects and with role taking involving social objects.

4. The ability to decenter with physical objects may be related to the same ability in dealing with social objects.

5. There appears to be a relationship between success on some social interaction tasks and decentration

with physical objects and with role taking involving social objects.

DECENTRATION AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT

Moral Development

Piaget claims that the child's social relationships proceed from a state of egocentrism toward moral reciprocity. Reciprocity usually begins to occur when the child is able to construct operational structures which are reversible. It is then that he can be capable of reciprocal thoughts and feelings. At this time his social interactions and moral behavior indicate an objective understanding of other people. Thus the child moves from a subjective centering in all areas to a decentered position "that is at once cognitive, social, and moral" (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969, p. 128).

"Piaget's view of moral development . . . is essentially a social theory, according to which moral concepts arise via personal interactions with parents, other authority figures, and peers" (Biggs, in preperation). His first stage of egocentrism depicts the child as centered on himself because of his unidimensional viewpoint. This "egocentrism diminishes, to be sure, but is replaced with a generalized kind of egocentrism, which we could call sociocentrism, vestiges of which carry over into adulthood as ethnocentrism" (ibid.). During this

sociocentric period the child can see not only his own viewpoint but that of others, and is influenced by group rules and norms. Eventually the adolescent may reach a stage of allocentrism, 'other-centeredness', which is based upon overall principles rather than group sanctions. Biggs summarizes this development:

> At the egocentric period, the problem is to see beyond oneself; during later childhood, beyond one's group. The first change, from egocentrism, is helped by seeing that other people in the same system (e.g., a brother, or class-mate) have different viewpoints and so one's own point of view is not the only one; the second change, from socio-centrism to allo-centrism becomes possible when it is seen that other people have other systems, which are just as valid as one's own. With allocentrism comes the realization that different systems may utilize the same principle but with different specific rules (ibid.).

Moral development, since it involves interpersonal relations, involves role taking. Kohlberg, who has extended and refined Piaget's work on moral development, states that the moral theories of Dewey (1909), G. H. Mean (1934), J. M. Baldwin (1906), Piaget (1932) and himself all include

> cognitive structural transformations in the concept of self and society. All have assumed that these stages represent successive modes of 'taking the role of others' in social situations, and hence that the social environment determinants of development are its opportunities for role taking (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 183).

Kohlberg also assumes with others that 'reciprocity', too, is part of the "experience of role taking in social interactions (Erikson, 1950; Mead, 1934; Homans, 1950; Malinowski, 1929; Piaget, 1932)" (ibid., p. 192).

The positions held by Piaget and Kohlberg are summarized in Table 2.1. They both agree that an individual may progress in his moral development through three main levels. Kohlberg has differentiated six stages which are combined to form the three levels. Both classify the first major category found in early childhood as being characterized by egocentric thought. Later the child develops non-egocentric thought which gives him the capability both of understanding the viewpoints of other members of his own society and of being influenced by them. This is necessary for his successful adaptation to the particular society in which he lives but may hinder the development of reciprocity toward members of other societies. Only when he shows reciprocity to all societies does he behave according to general principles necessary for postconventional morality.

Relationship of Decentration with Physical Objects and/or Role Taking Tasks to Moral Development

Few studies have explored the relationship between decentration in relation to physical or social objects and decentration in moral development. Stuart (1967) studied the relationship between a decentration instrument consisting of lateral discrimination, spatio-perceptual, and social decentration items, and measurements of moral judgements. The social decentration items called for evaluation of complex social situations. The moral

Table 2.1

Stages of Moral Development

Period	Piaget	Kohlberg
Early Childhood	Morality of unilateral respect to absolute rules	1. Preconventional level Stage 1. Punishment and obedience orientation Stage 2. Instrumental relativist orientation
Middle and Later Childhood	Morality of unilateral respect to peer or societal rules	2. Conventional level Stage 3. Interpersonal concordance orientation Stage 4. 'Law and order' orientation
Adolescence and Adulthood	Morality of mutual respect to general principles	3. Postconventional level Stage 5. Social-contract legalistic orientation Stage 6. Universal ethical principle orientation

judgement items fell into the areas of imminent justice, expiatory punishment, and objective responsibility. Using middle class suburban boys and girls from grades 2, 4, 6, and 8, and controlling for age and intelligence, he found that decentration was necessary for mature moral judgements. Of the three decentration factors, social decentration was most strongly correlated with moral judgements. This relationship was most strongly seen in older, more intelligent children.

Selman (1971a) explored the relationship between role taking ability and moral reasoning. For measurements of role taking ability Flavell's 'ordered series of pictures' and the 'two cup' tasks were used. These results were compared to scores on Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Scale (MJS). Each role taking task was categorized to indicate nonreciprocal (egocentric) and reciprocal (non-egocentric) levels. The MJS was also categorized into the same dichotomies. Stages 1 and 2 (level 1) were considered preconventional (egocentric) and stages 3 and 4 (level 2) became conventional (non-egocentric) morality. The two dichotomies of moral judgement agree with Kohlberg's theoretical framework. Boys and girls ages 8, 9, and 10 were used. Homogeneity of social class (middle class) and intelligence were controlled. A significant relationship was found between each of the two main moral reasoning levels (preconventional and conventional) and the two main role taking

levels (non-reciprocal and reciprocal) for both role taking tasks. Other important findings were:

(1) no significant relationship existed between sex and either role taking ability or moral reasoning.

(2) age and intelligence were related significantly to role taking ability but not with moral reasoning.

In a follow-up study Selman posed the following hypothesis: "If the level of measured ability on one variable increased without a concomitant increase in level on the other, this would argue for the systematic primacy of development of the increasing variable" (p. 89). One year after the first study he was able to locate a small group of ten children who had scored low on both role taking and moral judgement tasks. Using the same instruments and procedures these subjects were retested. Five subjects reached the reciprocal level on the first role taking task and six did so on the second. On the other hand, only two subjects obtained the conventional moral judgement level two. Both of these subjects concurrently obtained as well the reciprocal level on both role taking tasks. Thus, no subject attained conventional moral judgement without reciprocal role taking. Reciprocal role taking, however, was attained by subjects without conventional moral judgements. He therefore concluded that reciprocal role taking is a necessary condition for the development of conventional moral thought.

Kohlberg refers to this same conclusion when he states "that a certain level of cognitive maturity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for a given level of moral judgment" (1969, p. 45).

Moir, using perceptual, quasi-interpersonal, and interpersonal role taking tasks and Kohlberg's moral judgement dilemmas with 11 year olds, also found "that strong associations exist between nonmoral and moral role taking" (1974, p. 302).

Implications for this Study

1. Decentration in two areas of social interaction, role taking and moral judgement, is related.

2. The ability to decenter in social role taking situations appears to be necessary for decentration in situations involving moral judgement.

3. The ability to decenter involving operations which seem to have a higher cognitive than affective content, such as with physical objects or perceptual role taking, is significantly related to age and intelligence.

4. The ability to decenter involving moral judgement tasks is not significantly related to age or intelligence.

DECENTRATION AND CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

This study attempts to extend the concept of social decentration into the area of social relations as they affect understanding between different cultural groups. King stated that:

> Piaget's theory of intellectual growth and development has . . . greater potency when viewed with a rationale for intercultural education, because we are now calling for the child to move from egocentric thinking to socio-centric thinking that includes the world, or global society (1973, p. 10). It is my hope that social science in the schools can take the lead in education toward a global society living in peace. Such leadership . . . must be founded on sound theories of how children develop from their early egocentric world into members of a world society (ibid., p. 15).

Relatively few studies have explored the relationship of the child's decentration from an egocentric to a non-egocentric point of view as it might influence intercultural understanding.

Piaget and Wiel (1951) attempted to trace the development of the child's understanding of the idea of homeland and nationality, and the effect of the child's loyalty to his country, on his relationship with other countries. The latter area has some commonality with the writer's study. However, while Piaget and Wiel were concerned with children's thoughts and feelings about international relations, this study deals with the child's relations with other cultural groups within the same country. Piaget and Wiel's main conclusions were that

"the child's discovery of his homeland and understanding of other countries is a process of transition from egocentricity to reciprocity" (1951, p. 578), and that this development was "liable to constant setbacks, usually through the reemergence of egocentricity on a broader or sociocentric plane" (ibid.). They noted that interpretation of their data should take into account the influence of their subjects' adult environment and that the subjects were all Swiss or expatriate children living in a large urban centre, Geneva.

Jahoda (1964) replicated the Piaget and Weil study of the concepts of homeland and nationality with Scottish children. Although the trends and processes were similar, the ages at which these concepts were understood were considerably different. The political relationship of Scotland to Britain may have contributed to this difference.

These results indicate that further studies similar to that of Piaget and Weil would enable more reliable statements to be made.

One area of studies related to intercultural education which is investigating the influence of decentration is peace and war education.

Cooper (1965) investigated the concept of war with children aged 7 to 16. Using the Piagetian developmental model he found stages of development which corresponded to

egocentric, concrete, and the more abstract reasoning of the adolescent.

Alvik continued research in this area by investigating the relationship of reciprocal reasoning and the different concepts of war and peace with 8, 10, and 12 year olds. He found that "the relationship is greater between ability of reciprocal reasoning and the concrete aspects, than between ability of reciprocal reasoning and the more abstract aspects of war and peace concepts" (1968, p. 195).

Weinstein (1957) investigated the concept of flags, and how these related to children's attitudes toward their own and other countries. He related these concepts and attitudes to Piaget's developmental stages. He found qualitative differences in the concepts and in the understanding of loyalty that children have to their country and flag which corresponded to Piaget's stages of development. Egocentric and non-egocentric areas were differentiated.

Torney (1970) investigated another perspective, that of war and intergroup relations. She asked children such questions as "When there are quarrels or wars between countries, how can you tell which country is right?" Using Kohlberg's criteria for judging stages of moral development, the children's reactions were categorized to indicate egocentric through principled morality.

Middleton, Tajfel, and Johnson (1970) investigated the relationships between children's national attitudes and their capacity to understand the behaviour of other nationals. They found that this capacity was greater when children were questioned about nations which they liked, and was more difficult to achieve for disliked countries.

Genesee (1974), while studying the effects of different language programmes on English speaking children in Montreal, used the same instrument as Middleton et al. (1970) in part of his study. He found no evidence of differential role taking skills when children were dealing with liked or disliked groups. He concluded that a "possible explanation is that the results of the study by Middleton et al. are not universally or crossculturally applicable" (p. 107).

Implications for this Study

1. Some studies have related the concept of decentration from egocentric to non-egocentric thought to the international relations aspect of intercultural studies.

2. Piaget and Weil's investigations indicate decentration from egocentricity to reciprocity in the area of international relations. Further studies are necessary to determine whether similar findings are true of intercultural relations.

3. Concepts and attitudes pertinent to the social

studies appear to develop according to the Piagetian developmental model.

4. Children's moral judgements about war appear to follow Kohlberg's moral developmental stages.

5. No indisputable conclusions have been reached regarding the effect of a child's attitudes toward groups of people on his ability to take the role of liked and disliked others.

MODEL OF RELATED STUDIES

The model shown in Figure 2.2 attempts to present diagrammatically an overview of studies outlined in this chapter.

The areas to which decentration appears to be related are divided into sections, and the role taking section is further subdivided. Most boundaries between sections and subsections are not rigid and there is in reality overlap between sections and subsections. Some individual tasks mentioned may seem to belong in more than one section or subsection, and in this case placement was made according to the major intent or purpose of the task.

A horizontal curved line indicates a relationship study. The author's name and the date of the study appear on this line. Arrows on this line mark the areas which the author related in his study. A vertical line touching the horizontal 'study line' indicates that the author was

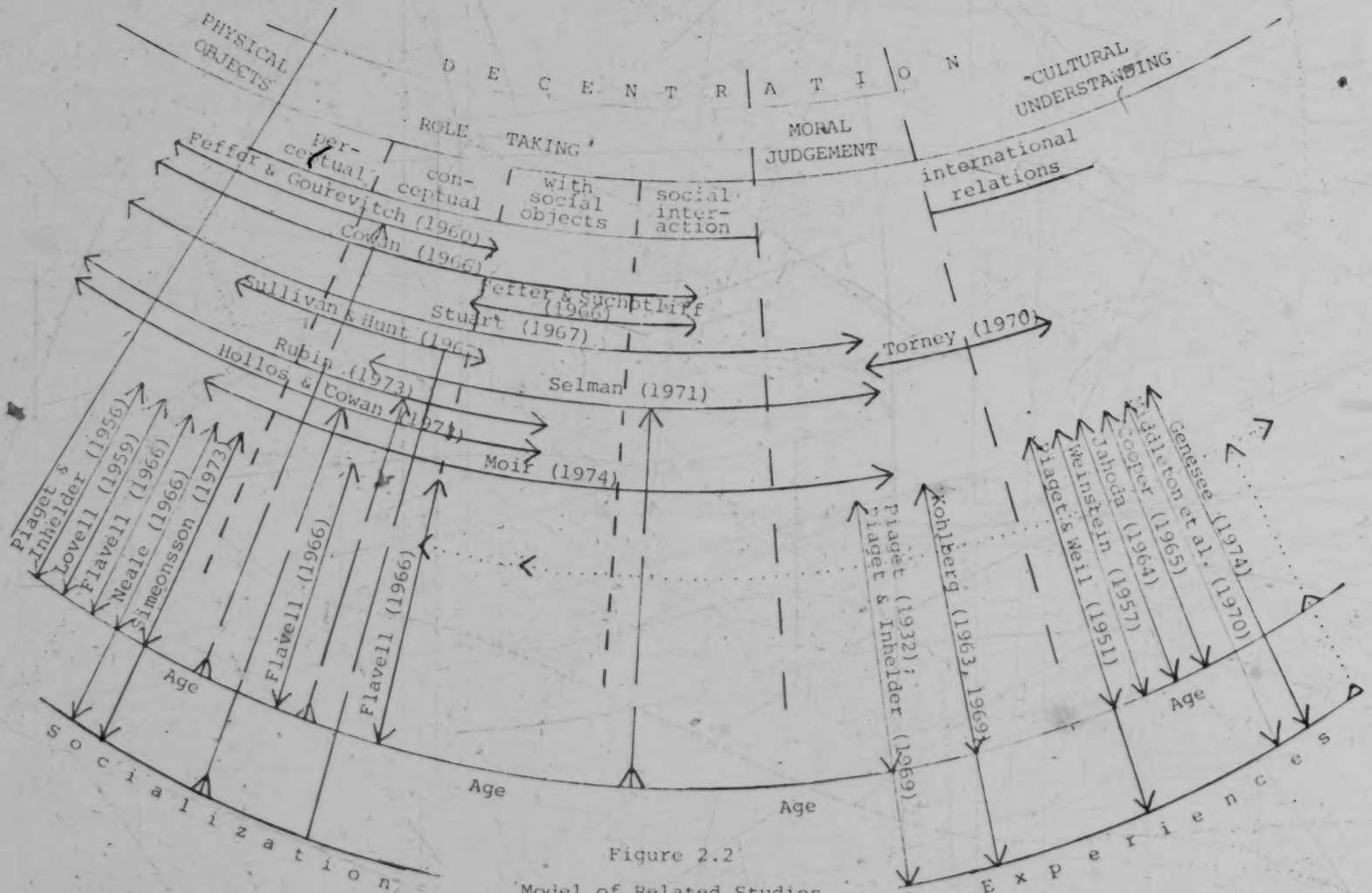


Figure 2.2

Model of Related Studies

concerned with age and/or socialization effects on the relationship he was examining. Arrows indicate which effect(s) he considered. Other vertical lines indicate studies dealing with only one decentration-related ability. The author's name and date of the study are located on each line. The arrows on a vertical 'study line' indicate that the author was concerned with age and/or socialization effects on the ability he was examining.

As on all two-dimensional models attempting to clarify a broad range of ideas, precision is evasive.

SUMMARY

A child's success in dealing not only with physical objects but also with areas of social concern such as role taking, moral judgement, and international relations seems to be related to decentration. This study will examine the relationship, if any, of decentration to intercultural understanding. More precisely, the ability for decentration in respect to the social world as it may relate to Canadian children's understanding of different cultural groups within Canada will be examined.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter includes an overview of the community and school settings, an explanation of the procedures used in selecting the sample, an outline of the data collection methods, and a description of the instrumentation.

THE SETTING

The two communities selected for this study are located in the province of Alberta. Statistics used in this section are mainly from surveys of each community prepared by the Industrial Development Branch, Department of Industry and Development, Government of the Province of Alberta (1964-1970); and from Provincial Planning Board maps (1969).

Similarities Between Communities

Community 1 is approximately 55 miles from a large urban centre, while Community 2 is approximately 45 miles in the opposite direction from this same centre; that is, the two are approximately 100 miles from one another. Each community is situated on the main highway.

Except for the large urban centre mentioned above,

each community is the largest in its county, with populations of approximately 3,000 and 6,000 respectively. Each is the 'service centre' for a surrounding rural area of about 3,000 square miles with a population of between 20,000 and 25,000.

A local weekly newspaper is published in each community. Community 2 has its own radio station and a radio station is presently being established in Community 1. Another station 25 miles from Community 2 reaches both communities. The large urban centre is the source of additional radio and newspaper communication, as well as television for both communities.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police serve both communities as well as the areas surrounding both.

Other government offices and services found in both communities include: Federal—Veteran's Land Act, Farm Credit Corporation; provincial—Department of Highways, Department of Public Welfare (this is a municipal responsibility in Community 1), District Agriculturalist, District Home Economist, District Superintendent of Schools, Liquor Control Board, Public Magistrate; municipal—Municipal building containing Council Chambers, Local Administration building including School Office, Jail, Recreation Director.

There are small industries in both communities although most commercial development is service-related

local enterprise. Both municipalities have purchased land adjacent to major transportation arteries in order to encourage future industrial growth.

The educational facilities in each community consist of elementary, junior high, and high schools in the public system, and elementary and junior high schools in the separate school system. Schools in both communities serve also the surrounding rural areas from which children come by bus.

The main language spoken in each is English, but there are families in and around both communities whose first language was originally other than English.

Difference Between Communities

Cultural factors. These two communities were selected for the wide range of geographical, sociological, and economic similarities described above, and for their one major difference which is relevant to this study. While Community 1 has little or no social contact with a culturally different people, Community 2 is ten miles from a native Canadian Indian reserve, and is the 'service centre' for the reserve as for other surrounding areas.

Observations. An officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in each community was interviewed to determine the type and extent of situations requiring police intervention.

In Community 1, the majority of violations are traffic offences, including impaired driving, and juvenile offences. There is "no Indian problem here."

The violations in Community 2 are mainly liquor-related offences and assault. The officer reported that here "ninety-five percent of the liquor offences involve the Indian population." Assaults involving the native population occur between Indians. Indians are "violent toward one another, but not toward non-Indians."

The weekly newspaper of each community was examined over a period of six months for articles containing references to native Canadian Indians. Each reference was then analyzed for positive, negative, or neutral portrayal of Indians; that is, whether it contributed to a positive or negative image of Indians, referred to a positive or negative aspect of Indians or Indian life, or influenced readers to think or feel positively or negatively about Indians. Neutral references were ones which could not be categorized in these ways.

Table 3.1 shows the number of articles about Canadian Indians, and the numbers of references within these articles for each weekly newspaper.

The negative references could be divided approximately as follows:

- half dealt with court convictions
- one-quarter dealt with a disagreement between

Table 3.1

Analysis of Newspaper Content for References
to Native Canadian Indians
April through September, 1974

	Number of Articles	Number of References	Positive References	Negative References	Neutral References
Community 1 Newspaper	10	11	5	1	5
Community 2 Newspaper	58	71	28	16	27

the reserve and the local hospital regarding alleged discrimination against Indians

- remainder dealt with aspects of policing and sports.

School Setting

In Community 1, rural and urban elementary school children attend the same school, in about equal proportions. In Community 2, one school serves the urban population, while another a short distance away has all its pupils bussed from surrounding rural areas. To include both rural and urban children from each community, it was decided to use children from both above-mentioned Community 2 schools in approximately equal numbers.

Community 1 school. This school had a total pupil population of 569 on May 31, 1974, and employed 24 teachers, including one for an opportunity class. Children from 12 classrooms were used. In this school, there were one Chinese, one negro, and three East Indian children, as well as nine Métis children who attended irregularly according to teachers concerned.

Community 2U school. As of May 31, 1974, a staff of 14 taught a total of 259 children in nine regular classes which included only urban pupils and three opportunity classes which both rural and urban pupils attended. Ten non-treaty native Indian children and six Chinese and

East Indian children attended this school. In the principal's opinion there was no discrimination against these pupils in the lower grades but it "sometimes becomes a problem" among older children.

Community 2R school. The staff of 21 here included an Industrial Arts, a Home Economics, and a Senior Opportunity teacher. All 436 pupils in this school as of May 31, 1974, were bussed an average of 15 miles from the surrounding areas. This included two buses from the nearby Indian reserve for 50 native Indian children who have attended this school since 1972. The principal stated that "the Indians are no problem socially," that they "mix well," and there were "a minimum of problems" with them. Academically they were lower and this was more pronounced in the higher grades. The principal was interested to see if this pattern will be discontinued with the Indian children who started in grade one and will have received all their education here. He was generally very positive about having Indian children in his school, and has taken courses on Indian culture. He felt most teachers in his school responded positively to the Indian children in their classes.

Teacher and Curriculum Influences

The personal influence of the classroom teacher and the curriculum content, particularly of Social Studies,

were considered possible areas of influence on the children's thoughts and feelings about other cultural groups. A short twelve-question ethnocentric questionnaire was prepared using items from Frenkel-Brunswick's (1948) studies of prejudice. Similar items were used by Lambert and Klineberg (1967) to measure ethnocentrism. A questionnaire was distributed for completion by each teacher who had pupils in this study. Each of these teachers was also asked to complete a brief outline of the topics, particularly those dealing with people from other cultures, which were included in the year's Social Studies program. Any reactions to, or impressions regarding, these topics which the teacher had noticed on the part of the pupils were also to be noted.

Copies of the ethnocentric and Social Studies content questionnaires are included in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively.

THE SAMPLE

Age, intelligence, and degree of socialization appear to be among the factors most highly related to the ability to decenter. Socio-economic status is a broad variable which may have influence on social and intellectual development. These four variables and sex (which does not appear to be highly related) were considered in selecting the sample for this study.

Cumulative record cards of all children in the three schools mentioned were examined, and a list for each community compiled of all children who were 6.5, 8.5, and 10.5 years, plus or minus six months. Using the most recent existing intelligence score shown on the record card, those pupils whose intelligence quotient score was less than 100 or greater than 115, or whose cumulative record card did not contain a rating, were deleted from these lists. The teachers involved were asked for comments regarding the emotional and social adjustment of the remaining children on each list. Those whom the teachers felt had problems in socialization (for example, were extremely shy or nervous, or were continual discipline problems) were deleted. Three age level pools were thus formed from each of these two master lists, making a total of six pools. From each of these six pools, 6 males and 6 females were randomly selected and interviewed.

Five out of six for each sex and age group were retained for the study. The extra subject in each age/sex group was originally included to allow for experimental mortality or other unexpected circumstances which might require the deletion of subjects and create unbalanced groups. Two subjects had to be dropped due to recording lapses and one because her responses were so undifferentiated from those of her identical twin sister, who was

also a randomly-selected member of the interview group. Nine other subjects were removed randomly to balance the groups.

A total of 60 subjects; 10 male and 10 female at ages 6.5, 8.5, and 10.5 were used for the final sample. These age groups will be referred to as 6, 8, and 10 year olds. An equal number of subjects according to age and sex were selected from Community 1 and Community 2. These sub-samples will be referred to as Group 1 and Group 2. A summary of the selection procedures and distribution of subjects in the final sample is outlined in Table 3.2. The mean ages of the final sample are shown in Table 3.3. Table 3.4 indicates the mean intelligence quotients of the final sample.

Although the socio-economic level of the communities was considered similar, an analysis of this factor using only the subjects in the final sample was conducted according to Blishen's (1961) socio-economic classes. Although Blishen has a more recently (1967) constructed socio-economic index, the former was used as it was divided into classes numbered one through seven, rather than containing a rank list only. The divisions in the former were useful for this study, and the correlation of the two index listings was .96, "indicating both stability in the structure over time and similarity in results despite variations in procedure" (1967, p. 744).

Table 3.2

Selection of Sample

Age Group	Community	Sex	Totals After Variables Considered: Age		Totals After Variables Considered: Intelligence and Socialization		Total Interviewed		Final Sample	
6	1	M	18	44	7	18	6	12	5	10
		F	26		11		6		5	
	2	M	20	49	6	15	6	12	5	10
		F	29		9		6		5	
8	1	M	31	76	9	19	6	12	5	10
		F	45		10		6		5	
	2	M	26	47	9	19	6	12	5	10
		F	21		10		6		5	
10	1	M	33	61	14	22	6	12	5	10
		F	28		8		6		5	
	2	M	39	63	13	26	6	12	5	10
		F	24		13		6		5	
Totals			355		119		72		60	

Table 3.3

Mean Ages of Children in Study

	Community 1	Community 2
Six year olds	6 years, 6.8 months	6 years, 8.3 months
Eight year olds	8 years, 7.4 months	8 years, 7.6 months
Ten year olds	10 years, 5.9 months	10 years, 6.3 months

Table 3.4

Mean Intelligence Scores of Subjects in Final Sample

	Six year olds	Eight year olds	Ten year olds
Community 1	109.8	109.3	108.2
Community 2	111.7	112.0	107.3
	110.75	110.65	107.75

Where the father or the stepfather was living with the subject, or was separated but not divorced from the mother, the father's or stepfather's occupation was used even if the mother was also working, "on the assumption that the family's social status is dependent upon the occupation of the husband rather than the wife when both are working" (ibid., p. 743). In the one remaining case where no father or stepfather was present, the occupation of the mother was used. If the father or stepfather held two jobs, an average score was calculated and the social class for this score used.

Table 3.5 shows the similarity of socio-economic class of both groups of subjects as determined by Blishen's index. Three classes (1, 3, 4) contain the same number of subjects; the four remaining classes differ by either one or two members. For both groups, the greatest number of subjects fall in class 5. The mean placement for a subject in Group 1 was 4.53, and for Group 2 was 4.37, indicating not only similarity of groups but mean membership in the broad 'middle' class.

COLLECTION OF DATA

Method of Data Collection

The choice of research techniques was determined by the type of data required and the nature of the children involved. The interview method was chosen because

Table 3.5

Class Membership of Subjects According to Blishen's (1961) Categorization of Fathers' Occupations

Class	Group 1	Group 2
1	1	1
2	4	5
3	2	2
4	0	0
5	19	18
6	2	4
7	2	0
	n = 30	n = 30

the person-to-person relationship facilitates communication necessary for the collection of the data, and is one of the better methods to elicit personal subjective responses such as feelings and attitudes (Yarrow, 1960, pp. 561, 598). Because some of the answers the subjects might wish to give could be considered to be of a culturally sensitive nature, it was felt that a relationship could be established within the framework of an interview which would alleviate any possible concerns of the subjects. Research literature indicates that the interview method of collecting data can be used satisfactorily with subjects as young as six years. Since the age range of the youngest age level group was from 6-0 years to 7-0 years, the interview method was considered acceptable for all subjects.

One of the intents of this study was to determine as candidly as possible the subjects' true and spontaneous reactions to, and thoughts and feelings about, the content under investigation. A degree of structure and directiveness in the interview procedure was necessary to obtain categorizable responses and also to maintain as much as possible a standard format. Questions could not be overly structured or spontaneity might be lost, nor could they be completely undirected or irrelevant responses might predominate. Where possible a structured framework or introduction preceded an open response framework (Yarrow,

1960, p. 576). A situation was described in a structured manner, then followed by open response questions such as "Which would you choose?", "Why did you choose that one?", or "Why do you think that?". It was found that a free flowing interview which was not stilted by excessive structure resulted in greater communication than might have occurred otherwise. All questions and introductory comments were expressed with vocabulary which was easily comprehended by all subjects. Although the introductory comments might vary slightly in the choice of words to suit the age of the subject, care was taken to project the same meaning to each subject. The responses were treated in a non-judgemental, accepting manner, in order to avoid any impression of rightness or wrongness.

One of the weaknesses of the interview method is a higher rate of 'no response' to open-ended questions. Although no refusal to answer on the part of any subject was detected, a few subjects had difficulty in making decisions, providing reasons for the answers or choices, or giving more than a 'yes' or 'no' answer. The lack of reasons, particularly where judgements are required, is characteristic of the egocentric thinker, who in this study was more apt to be in the six year old group. To elicit more detailed information, probing questions which did not reveal the interviewer's thoughts or feelings, and which did not 'lead' the subject toward what might be

perceived as desirable responses, were used.

All interviews were tape recorded in their entirety. As a trial, in a small number of interviews during the pilot study, the experimenter wrote the children's answers as they responded. It was found that the attention of some children was distracted, the continuity of the interview was disrupted, and the interviews lasted a considerably longer time. On the other hand, when a tape recorder was used, the subjects, after initial interest on the part of some, became absorbed in the questions and materials, and did not seem consciously aware of its presence. This was thus considered the most accurate and convenient method of recording the responses.

The success of an interview is determined largely by the relationship established by the interviewer between himself and the subject. A relaxed, informal, interested, and non-evaluative relationship was desired. This was obtained to a large degree by the following procedures. The interviewer went to the classroom to meet each subject. A friendly greeting and comments and questions of personal interest to the subject during the move to the interview area were found to be effective. During the first two or three minutes in the interview situation, the interviewer continued to develop a desirable rapport with the subject through informal discussion of the subject's school, family, summer holiday plans, or other topics of current

interest. The purpose of the interview was explained to the subject, stressing that it was not a test, that it would not influence his school progress, individual results would not be given to anyone else, and that there were no right or wrong answers to any questions asked. If the subject asked about the tape recorder or noticed it and seemed curious, he was told that it assisted the interviewer to remember all the answers given and it took less time than writing answers down. The atmosphere of a test situation was avoided by these procedures, and the subjects seemed to consider much of the interview as a game-like situation. They appeared to enjoy having the complete attention of an adult and his interest in their responses. As a result of following these procedures, the interviewers were highly satisfied with the subjects' willingness to respond to the questions and tasks.

Two interviewers, one male and one female, were involved. The subjects were randomly assigned so that approximately half of the boys and half of the girls at each age level had either a male or female interviewer.

The duration of the interviews ranged from about 35 to 50 minutes. Although the introductory aspects of the interview required more time with younger subjects, some of them gave rather brief responses, while some older subjects wished to express their viewpoints at length. Therefore the relationship between interview time required

and subject age was not high. Because the subjects indicated a high interest in the questions and tasks, there was little evidence that the length of the interview affected the quality or quantity of the responses.

Sequence of Data Collection

A number of measurements of the subject's thoughts and feelings were recorded during the interview session. They were elicited through the use of oral questioning, manipulation of materials, and the written completion of a semantic differential. Explanations of the purpose, selection procedures, and descriptions of the instruments used are detailed under Instrumentation. A brief overview of the order in which these measurements were made, and some of the procedures accompanying them are outlined here.

1. Period of familiarization between subject and interviewer

2. Self Awareness Task

3. Informal discussion about subject, his family, and people in Canada. Identification of the five cultural groups to be used in the study.

4. Cultural Identification Task

5. Training session for Cultural Understanding tasks

6. Cultural Understanding Task #1

- Choose a Friend Task

- Choose a Friend Decentration Task
- Choose a Friend Reciprocity Task

7. Social Decentration Tasks
   - Introductory Task
   - Social Decentration Task #1
   - Social Decentration Task #2
   - Social Decentration Task #3
8. Cultural Understanding Task #2
   - Choose a Group Task
   - Choose a Group Decentration Task
   - Choose a Group Reciprocity Task
9. Semantic Differential

INSTRUMENTATION

Criteria for Instruments

Before the research instruments were constructed or selected, the following criteria were established.

1. Instruments should determine the child's self-perceptions as well as his perceptions of other cultural groups.

2. Instruments should elicit and indicate the child's knowledge, feelings, and values.

3. Instruments should be sufficiently simple to be comprehended by six year old subjects, but sufficiently challenging for eleven year old subjects.

4. Instruments should have a high inherent

interest level.

5. Instruments should require simple administration procedures.

6. Instruments should involve a relatively short administration time.

Self Awareness as a Goal of Intercultural Education

The goals of intercultural education as outlined in this study begin with the individual and move, or 'decenter', outward to include all mankind. The first goal is the development of an awareness of the self. This has been a goal of different educational endeavours for various purposes. A positive self-concept is important for emotional development and may influence the way an individual thinks about and acts toward other people, including those from different cultures. Another related aspect of the individual's development of self-awareness is how he sees himself regarding membership in different socio-cultural groups. This awareness may provide him with a sense of belonging and security which helps him to cope with and accept cultural diversity. Conversely an exaggerated awareness and feeling of belonging to a particular group might negatively influence his perceptions of and relations with other groups. Morse and Allport found that an exaggerated loyalty to one's own group was the greatest cause of discrimination toward other groups (1952, p. 225).

The child's awareness of himself, according to Piaget, begins in the first developmental stage. However, as his language patterns progress, he becomes more aware of who he is through the labels which he is assigned by his parents and others in his social group(s). With self-awareness comes awareness of others. Ericson (1950, p. 32) states that around the age of four the child becomes very curious about the differences between himself and others. As he grows he develops an interest in a widening world and in many types of people. Through socialization he may develop a sense of identity with different socio-cultural groups. He may also learn and accept the evaluative patterns of his group concerning other people. These patterns may be reinforced by the similarities and differences between his group and other people of which he becomes more aware.

It was considered important in this study to attempt to determine to what extent Canadian children of various ages had developed a sense of awareness of themselves. In particular, any information which would indicate a sense of awareness of being members of any socio-cultural groups and the degree of attachment to particular groups was sought. These findings might indicate the developmental nature and level of Canadian children's basic awareness patterns which might contribute to or detract from intercultural understanding.

Self Awareness Task (SAT). An instrument which would indicate a child's sense of awareness and feeling of membership in an unlimited number of possible groups was required. It was thought that an individual's true sense of awareness would be best determined by permitting him to construct the terms rather than by presenting him with a list of terms from which to choose. An instrument designed to elicit this information was used in two related studies. It consisted of a simple open-ended question, "What are you?". Hartley, Rosenbaum, and Schwartz (1948) used this technique with 81 children, 41 of whom were nominally Jewish. They found, with subjects 3.5 to 10.5 years, that after 4.5 years, an average of 71% used ethnic terms (racial, national, or religious by their definition) to describe themselves.

Lambert and Klineberg (1967) studied 3,300 children ages 6, 10, and 14 years from eleven countries. They used this same question in the following format to see how prominent a role nationalistic feeling played in the children's perceptions of themselves:

1st question - "What are you?"

2nd question - "What else are you?"

3rd question - "What else are you?"

4th question - "Anything else?".

They found that with increasing age children gradually substituted ethnic terms for personal terms in

describing themselves. Lambert and Klineberg suggest that the children's self perceptions can be used as a basis for understanding their views about other people.

This instrument was accepted in the same format as used by Lambert and Klineberg, to collect data for the first research question.

Cultural Identity Task (CIT). Because it was anticipated that the data gathered from the above question would include a wide range of spontaneous responses, it was considered desirable to have, in addition, a more structured measurement of the subject's identification with a particular cultural group.

For this measurement, five dolls representing five cultural groups within Canada, including one representing the child's own ethnic background were used. (A description of the dolls is included on p. 92, and the choice of the five groups is elaborated upon on pp. 111 to 113.)

These dolls were placed one at a time in front of the child. He read the label as each was presented or if he was not able to, the experimenter assisted him and the child practised if necessary. The experimenter asked if the child was aware of each group as it was presented.

The dolls were placed in a row in random order before the subject. The experimenter then asked, "Which one of tnese groups is most like you?".

Social Decentration and Cultural Understanding

The main objective of this study was to attempt to determine whether the child's understanding of people of other cultures is related to his ability for social decentration.

The meaning of cultural understanding as used in this study is (a) the realization that a person from a cultural group which is different from the child's own could have a different point of view in regard to his choice of friends or his desire for membership in a certain cultural group, and (b) the acceptance of this point of view as equally valid as his own. It would require the subject to take the point of view of people of whom he is aware and with whom he may interact now and/or in the future. This understanding would require the child to see that the other's point of view may be founded in different feelings and values resulting from a sense of belonging to and affection for another cultural group.

The ability for social decentration would be indicated by the development of mental structures and operations which allow the child to take non-egocentric viewpoints.

Measurements

Two measurements were considered necessary for this area of the study:

1. a measure of the child's social decentration

ability

2. a measure of the child's understanding of the point of view of people from other cultures.

Many tasks are purported to measure the child's ability to decenter. These may involve physical or social objects, and may employ skills which are more perceptual than conceptual or vice versa. Because cultural understanding is related more to social than physical objects, it was decided that the decentration tasks should involve decentering where people are concerned, and for this reason would be called social decentration tasks. Cultural understanding also involves, to a great extent, considering what other people may be thinking or feeling. This would suggest processes which are more cognitive than perceptual. Decentration tasks which involve people rather than physical objects, and basically cognitive rather than perceptual skills, were considered most valid. These requirements could be met by using role taking tasks involving the above specified content.

Measurement of Social Decentration

One difficulty encountered was the selection of tasks which would measure social decentration over a wide range of developmental levels. It was anticipated that the subjects' developmental levels might range from the preoperational to the formal operational levels. Piaget structured questions which require a child to put himself

mentally in the place of another child, and which can be used with young children. Piaget stated that assuming the point of view of the other requires the child to decenter from his own point of view. One of these questions must be asked when the investigator and the child are facing one another. The investigator requests the child to indicate which is his (the child's) right (or left) hand. The child is then asked to indicate which is the right hand of the investigator (or the left hand if the left hand was asked of the child). While a child as young as four or five years can indicate his own correct hand, Piaget and Inhelder (1969) have shown that it is not for another two or three years that the child is able to understand that the right hand of the investigator is on his own left. This task has been replicated and confirmed by Elkind (1961), and by Lee (1971) who used objects such as coins, keys, and pencils instead of the hands.

In the present study, the hand task was used as an introductory decentration game.

After a review of many instruments, two of Piaget's interview question, similar to the 'hand' task above, and a role taking task which Flavell (1968) developed were accepted as the most suitable for this study.

Social Decentration Task 1 (SDT 1). The child was questioned to determine whether he could see his relationship to a same-sex sibling from the point of view of that

sibling. For example, if a male subject had a brother B, he was asked if B had any brothers. If the reply was 'yes', he was asked to name B's brothers, in order to insure that he was not guessing. Where there were more than two boys in the family, and when the subject did not name himself as a brother of B in his first reply, he was asked if B had any other brothers. This procedure was repeated until the subject named himself as a brother of B or indicated that there were no other brothers (i.e., he omitted himself). For female subjects, the term sister was substituted for brother.

In cases where the subject did not have a same-sex sibling, he was asked to suppose or pretend that there was another boy or girl in his family. This ficticious brother or sister was then used as above in the same manner as a real sibling. This method of creating an imaginary brother or sister when none exists was used by both Piaget (1929), and by Elkind (1962) who replicated Piaget's study and made almost identical findings.

When the subject indicated that he was a brother (sister) to his real or imaginary brother (sister), he was scored non-egocentric in his social decentration. When the subject did not indicate this, he was scored egocentric in his social decentration.

Social Decentration Task 2 (SDT 2). Piaget stated that the egocentric child knows that his family has

others for neighbours but does not regard his family as neighbours of these others. SDT 2 involves decentering to assume the point of view of neighbours in the same way that decentering was required in SDT 1 and in the 'hand' task (Piaget and Weil, 1951).

In the SDT 2 the subject was first asked if he or his family had any neighbours, and was prompted to name them. The interviewer then asked who neighbour N (one of the named neighbours) had for neighbors. If the subject or his family was not mentioned as a neighbour of N in this first response, the interviewer continued to ask for other neighbours of N until either the subject named himself or his family, or until the subject indicated he had exhausted his knowledge of N's neighbours.

If the subject indicated that he or his family was a neighbour of N, it was assumed that he could take N's viewpoint and so was scored non-egocentric in his social decentration. If he did not indicate that he or his family was a neighbour of N, he was scored as egocentric in social decentration.

Social Decentration Task 3 (SDT 3). The experimenter (E) showed the subject (S) two cups turned face down on a felt board. One had one nickel stuck to the top and the other had two nickels stuck to the top. S was told that the money stuck to the top indicated how much money was inside (E or S lifted cup to verify this).

E explained to S how the game was played. S was told that in a few minutes a third person, (O), was going to come and choose one cup and take the money from under it if the money was still there. The game would be explained to O before he chooses. S's task was to remove the money from either the one-nickel or the two-nickel cup, whichever one he expected O to choose, and thereby trick O. S's task, therefore, was to predict which cup O, with the knowledge of S's intentions to trick him, would choose. After S had removed the money from under one cup, he was asked why he thought O would choose the cup from which he had just removed the money.

On the basis of responses given by 160 pupils in grades two to eight inclusive and grade eleven, Flavell was able to construct four categories of responses. These indicate the progressive development of more complex role taking skills from lower to higher grade levels. Selman (1971a) used this task in relating role taking ability to level of moral development with eight to ten year old subjects. He omitted Flavell's fourth category as it would appear to be too advanced for ten year olds to attain. Only four of Flavell's subjects were scored at the fourth category. In this study, the responses were analyzed and scored at one of the three categories as stated by Selman and described below.

Category 1

- Response indicates a lack of realization that in this particular game an understanding of another person's motives is relevant and important to one's own choice.

- This category would include Ss who can not or will not attribute a choice to O or Ss who can offer no rationale for the choice they feel O would make.

Category 2

- Response indicates an awareness that there is a motive behind a choice but S does not indicate that he is aware of the fact that O may also be cognizant of motives.

- Category 2 reflects S's attribution to O of cognitions which are related only to the game material and S's failure to account for the possibility that O and S are in a situation in which O should try to take S's motives into account and vice versa.

Category 3

- Indicates highest level of role taking scores for this task.

- S indicates an awareness that O knows that one choice has certain advantages (monetary) over the other, that this might influence O's choice and that this in turn has implications for the choice that S has to make.

- Implies S's understanding of reciprocal functioning of a role taking process: even as S makes his decision on the basis of imputing thoughts and actions

to O, so he sees O as imputing similar thoughts and actions to him.

Flavell also analyzed his findings by combining adjacent grade levels (e.g. 2 and 3) and categories (1 and 2, and 3 and 4) to construct an eight-cell chi square table. This procedure yielded a chi square of 18.18 (df = 3), $p < .01$, substantiating the impression of a developmental trend in role taking ability. This instrument seemed to be quite suitable for this study, and had undergone adequate content analysis to be considered sufficiently valid.

Social decentration tasks 1, 2, and 3 all utilize content which is interesting to and within the experience of all subjects. Cognitive processes, to a greater extent than perceptual, are involved. The tasks deal to a greater extent with the child's social rather than physical world. Finally the instructions were sufficiently simple to be understood by the subjects, and the tasks were easily administered by the experimenter. Thus, they meet the criteria for instruments previously established.

Measurement of Cultural Understanding

A measurement was needed to determine the degree to which subjects understand the points of view of people from a cultural group which is different from the child's own group. In its higher form, this would be acceptance on the part of the subject of the other's point of view as equally valid as his own. According to Piaget, in order

to arrive at this level the subject must move from an egocentric point of view to show reciprocity toward the other.

In the search for suitable tasks a study was made of Kohlberg's moral dilemma stories. These dilemmas have a well-founded theoretical and empirical base (Kohlberg, 1969). The level of moral reciprocity toward others can be interpreted from responses. However, two difficulties for this study were evident. First, in their original form they were not reliable for the six year old subjects in this study. Second, the content did not reflect situations in which the subject was required to take the viewpoint of people necessarily from other cultures. To alter the content and to simplify the comprehension level of the dilemmas were considered. However this would distort the very validity that made these tasks possible choices.

Cultural Understanding Task One (CUT 1)

An instrument constructed by Middleton, Tajfel, and Johnson (1970) met the requirements of this study. This instrument was also used by Genesee (1974) to study the ethnocentrism of English-speaking Canadian children. Some slight changes were made in the instrument to adapt it for this study. In addition, a second parallel form, involving what was considered to be similar measurements, was administered to strengthen the reliability.

Description of the instrument. The instrument included 5 wooden dowels, four and one-quarter inches high and one and three-quarter inches in diameter, in the approximate shape of a head and a body, and referred to as 'dolls' or 'toys'. They were identical with one another except for the distinguishing names on cardboard labels, one and one-quarter inches by one and three-quarters inches and hung around each doll's 'neck', and on the flat cardboard 'cap', one inch in diameter on each 'head'. Four labels and caps were standard for each subject—English Canadian, French Canadian, Canadian Eskimo, and Canadian Indian. The fifth varied and indicated the ethnic background of the subject. The cap bore initials corresponding with the neck label and enabled the experimenter to observe unobtrusively the handling of the dolls. These dolls were introduced earlier in the interview in connection with the Cultural Identity Task, so that the subjects were already familiar with the labels.

The 'liking board', 20 inches long by 9 inches wide, was divided crossways into ten equal segments. The five sections toward one end were blue, the five toward the other end were red. The colours were shaded from the darkest at the ends to the lightest in the middle. At the end by the darkest blue segment were drawn two happy faces, one on each side of this darkest blue segment. At the end by the darkest red were two unhappy faces. The board was

placed lengthwise in front of the subject so the more he liked something, the closer this placement would be to him.

Training procedures. In order to train the subject in the use of the liking board, five plastic foods—an apple, an orange, a banana, a lemon, and an onion—were presented. It was felt that this selection would encourage the use of the entire board. The subject was asked which he liked best, and the reason(s) for his choice, and then he was instructed in the use of the board. Next, he was asked to place this first choice on the board to indicate how much he liked it, and then to place the remaining four foods in positions to indicate the relative extent of his liking or disliking for each. After all were placed, he was asked to verbalize the intended meaning of his placements so the experimenter could determine if his placements did in fact correspond with his intentions. Any difficulties were clarified.

'Choose a Friend' task (CAF). The subject was then presented with the five dolls to which he had previously been introduced. He was requested to read the labels again, and was given assistance and/or practice if needed. The subject was then asked which one of these groups of people he would most like to have as his best friend. After he had chosen, he was asked to give a

reason for his choice. He was then instructed to place all five dolls, using the board in the same manner as he had for the foods, to indicate how much he would like or not like to have each group as his friends. After a placement, he was asked why he would not like, or would not like as much, the most negatively rated group.

'Choose a Friend - Decentration' task (CAF-D). The subject was then asked to pretend he was a Canadian Indian child and the procedure was repeated with the subject making the choices he felt a Canadian Indian child would make, and explaining why for the most positive and most negative choices.

Measures of liking of each cultural group both for the subject when he chose a friend for himself (CAF) and when he took the role of the Canadian Indian (CAF-D) were indicated by the placement of each doll. A score of one to ten, using the five blue and five red segments on the board, was given to each placement. A score of one indicated the most liking placement and ten the least liking.

'Choose a Friend - Reciprocity' task (CAF-R). It was then pointed out to the subject that he had chosen one group as the best for friends while the Indian child had chosen a different group as his best friends. Then he was asked, "Who is more right in his choice of friends?" and then "Why do you think so?".

If the subject as himself and as a Canadian Indian child had chosen the same group, he was asked, before this CAF-R task, wh a member of a randomly-selected third group would choose as his friends. Thus it was assured that there was always an apparent conflict between the subject's choice and the imputed choice of the other.

Decentration toward reciprocity was indicated if the child answered that neither choice was more right because both were equally valid to the choosers. If this was shown, the child was asked, "Who is nicer?" and/or "Who is smarter?". Reciprocity was considered maintained if he answered as above.

Cultural Understanding Task Two (CUT 2)

This second form parallels the CUT 1 in the pattern of the questioning. However, the questions involved slightly different content, and a second placement board of different appearance was constructed.

'Choose a Group' task (CAG). The subject was presented again with the five dolls. He was then asked which group he would most like to belong to if he had been born not belonging to any of the represented groups. He was then asked for his reason(s), and further instructions regarding placement, as well as questions asked followed exactly the pattern of the CUT 1, but involved his choice of groups to belong to, rather than his choice of friends.

The board used for these placements was 28 inches long and 7 inches wide, contained ten circles instead of ten segments, was labelled at the ends 'BELONG TO' and 'NOT BELONG TO', and was presented crossways in front of the child. By varying the visual aspects of the board, it was felt that testing effects of the CUT 1 task would be reduced, and that high interest would be maintained.

'Choose a Group - Decentration' task (CAG-D). This task was administered in the same manner as the CAF-D task except that the choices made for the Canadian Indian were for a group to belong to rather than for a friend, and placements were made on the 'belonging to' board.

'Choose a Group - Reciprocity' task (CAG-R). This task was administered in the same manner as the CAF-R task except that the comparisons made involved the choice of groups rather than friends, and placements were as above.

Semantic Differential

The purpose in administering the Semantic Differential was to obtain measurements of children's affective feelings toward a culturally different group, the Canadian Indian, and the group which they perceive as most like themselves.

The Semantic Differential was chosen because it has been used to "determine the nature of students' attitudes" (Newton, 1973, p. 87), and has "been shown

sufficiently reliable for many research purposes" (ibid.). It has been shown also to be suitable for elementary school children (Maltz, 1963; DiVesta, 1966).

An 8-item Semantic Differential composed of terms which would elicit affective reactions from children, accompanied by a 5-point scale was developed. It was titled "I think _____ are," with the name of one of the groups in the blank.

An understanding of all terms was assured during an initial training period when each subject indicated their feeling toward the concept 'dogs' using the Semantic Differential described above. The child was then asked to complete three Semantic Differentials, one each for Canadian Eskimo, Canadian Indian, and his 'most-alike' group.

A copy of the Semantic Differential is found in Appendix C.

Inclusion of Different Cultural Groups

There is some debate as to whether particular cultures exist within Canada. The Canadian government presently uses the term ethnocultural groups, acknowledging both cultural and ethnic characteristics. The term cultural will be used here to refer to all groups used in this study in order to standardize the terminology and to maintain an intercultural perspective.

To measure the subjects' thoughts and feelings

about, and reactions to, different cultural groups within Canada, it was necessary to select the groups to be used in the study.

As of 1971, Canadians whose origin was the British Isles represented 44.62% of Canada's total population, while those of French origin represented 28.65% of this total. Because these two groups make up the largest segments of the Canadian population, they were included in the study and were designated by the commonly understood labels of 'English Canadian' and 'French Canadian'.

Because of the presence of a significant number of native Canadian Indians near to one of the communities in the study, this group was included as 'Canadian Indian'. The use of this group in a study in an area where Indians live might draw undue attention to the Indian group and thereby bias the responses of some subjects. It was thought that by including the Eskimo group, which has some similar cultural traits, focus on the inclusion of Indians would be minimized. On this basis, the fourth group included in the study was 'Canadian Eskimo'.

Finally the group reflecting the child's specific ethnic origin was included. This information was obtained from the student cumulative record card, from the teacher in informal discussion, through a discussion with the subject about different people in Canada and then about his family, or sometimes from his surname. This was done

without creating concern on the part of the subject. The child's own ethnic background was considered important to determine his thoughts and feelings about it in comparison to the other groups. Where a subject had a British Isles origin, either British, Scottish, Welsh, or Irish Canadian was used. In six cases this background could not be determined and then the fifth group was assigned using the surname as a guide.

All subjects were presented five dolls labelled as follows:

English Canadian (EC)

French Canadian (FC)

Canadian Eskimo (CE)

Canadian Indian (CI)

(ethnic background of subject) Canadian (OC).

THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study was conducted in March and April, 1974, prior to the main study, in an Edmonton Public School Board school which served both rural and urban youngsters with varied socio-economic backgrounds.

The purposes of the pilot study were as follows:

1. to try out the instruments with children of the same age as in the study.

2. to note reactions of the children to the instruments, and in some cases to ask for their reactions.

3. to provide the interviewers with experience in administering each instrument, and in developing a smooth interview procedure.

4. to provide the interviewers with experience in varying the approach slightly to suit children of various ages, especially the six year olds.

5. to provide the interviewers with an opportunity to discover probing questions which were effective in eliciting further information without influencing the trend of a child's thinking.

6. to collect responses in order to gain experience in categorizing data.

The pilot study was very valuable in confirming the suitability of the instruments for all age groups, and in familiarizing the experimenter with the total interview procedure.

SUMMARY

A brief description was given of the two communities from which the total sample was drawn. The major socio-cultural difference between the communities and its importance to the study was discussed. The selection of a sample which might indicate developmental trends, and sub-samples which appear to have different socio-cultural environments, are important aspects of this study. Instruments designed to measure self awareness, social

decentration, cultural understanding, and attitudes towards cultural groups were described. The data collection took place in May and June, 1974, using the individual interview method.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to report on the analysis of the data collected for each research question. The presentation discusses each research question in numerical order. A brief background to each question precedes a report of observations. This study is primarily an exploratory investigation into the way Canadian children think and feel about their socio-cultural environment. In choosing the instruments for this purpose, practical application and relevancy were major criteria. The analysis performed for each question varies considerably and does not involve rigorous statistical tests because of the nature of the data. An overview of the instruments used for each research question is given in Table 4.1. The summary coordinates the findings and their relationship to intercultural education. This summary and the conclusions are discussed in Chapter V.

Table 4.1

Sources of Data for Research Questions

Research Question	Sources of Data	Page Reference for Description
1(a), 1(b)	Self Awareness Task	81-82
1(c)	Cultural Identity Task	82
2(a), 2(b), 2(c)	Cultural Understanding Subtasks	
	(1) Choose a Friend Task: 'A' Section (Best Friend)	93-94
	(2) Choose a Group Task: 'A' Section (Best Group)	95-96
3(a), 3(b) - Low Level Reciprocity	Cultural Understanding Subtasks	
	(1) Choose a Friend Task	93-94
	Choose a Friend Decentration Task	94
	(2) Choose a Group Task	95-96
	Choose a Group Decentration Task	96
3(a), 3(b) - High Level Reciprocity	Cultural Understanding Subtasks	
	(1) Choose a Friend Reciprocity Task	94-95
	(2) Choose a Group Reciprocity Task	96
4(a), 4(b)	Social Decentration Task 1	85-86
	Social Decentration Task 2	86-87
	Social Decentration Task 3	87-88
	Cultural Understanding Tasks 1 and 2 (Maximum level scores from research question 3)	91-96
5(a), 5(b)	Reasons given for placements in	
	(1) Choose a Friend Task	93-94
	Choose a Friend Decentration Task	94
	(2) Choose a Group Task	95-96
	Choose a Group Decentration Task	96

RESEARCH QUESTION ONE

How do Canadian children perceive themselves?

To determine whether subjects perceived themselves as members of social or cultural groups, two tasks were used. The first, the Self Awareness Task, encouraged unstructured responses to the question "What are you?". Since little certainty existed as to whether this task would elicit relevant data, a second more structured one, the Cultural Identification Task, was administered. It was anticipated that this combination of two distinct tasks would indicate how the subjects perceived themselves.

Question 1(a)

Do Canadian children perceive themselves as members of social or cultural groups?

Observations

There were a total of 152 responses to the Self Awareness Task, an average of 2.53 responses per child. The 6 year olds gave 43 responses or 2.15 per child, the 8 year olds gave 53 responses or 2.65 per child, and the 10 year olds gave 56 responses or 2.80 per child. Thus there was a consistent increase with age in the number of responses given.

A very few subjects gave a list of terms which were almost identical. So that these lists did not give

undue weight to these categories, it was decided that only one response per category per child would be used for the final analysis. After the thirteen duplicates were deleted 139 responses remained. Of these, nine seemed to form a biological or scientific category which seemed irrelevant to the analysis, and so these were deleted. Sixteen other individual responses were non-categorizable.

The remaining responses were categorized and a percentage of the total 152 responses was calculated for each category. The categories and percentages are shown in Figure 4.1, beginning in the center with the most frequently given response, and moving outward to the least frequent ones.

Over 30% of the responses referred to the child's sex, "I'm a boy" or "I'm a girl." Over 25% indicated the subjects were persons and human beings. Thus over 55% of the responses fell into these three categories.

References to race and national or regional characteristics, which were of particular interest for this study, accounted for less than 2% of the total responses. Thus, in response to open-ended questioning which allowed subjects to construct their own categories, these Canadian children did not perceive themselves as members of specific cultural groups. Only one subject, a 6 year old, mentioned linguistic characteristics or ancestral origin in her self descriptions when she labelled herself as "an

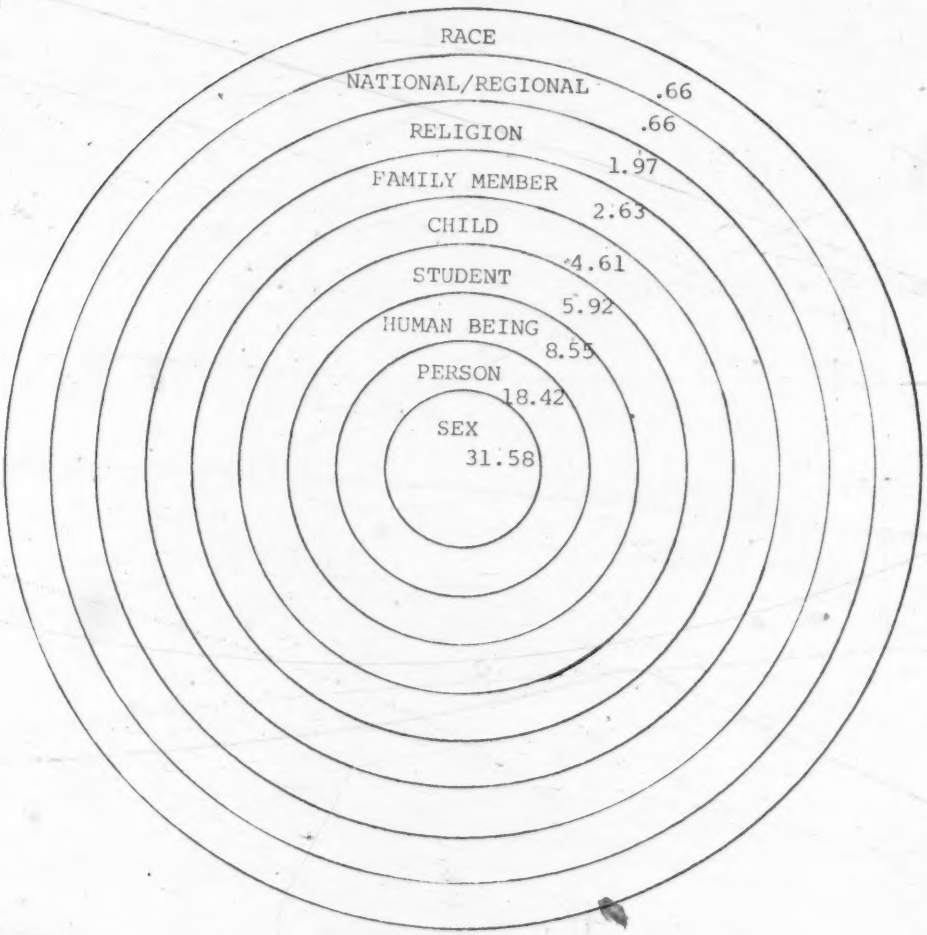


Figure 4.1

Percentage of Total Responses in Each Category for Total Sample on Self Awareness Task 1

Englishman."

Figure 4.1 can be compared to Figure 1.2. When organized to portray the frequency of category usage, Figure 4.1 follows a similar outward decentration pattern as that illustrated in Figure 1.2. Very few identifications with the more remote aspects of the child's sociocultural world were indicated. Thus subjects at these ages may not be highly conscious of their membership in these areas.

Question 1(b)

Is there an age group difference in Canadian children's self perceptions as members of social or cultural groups?

Observations

Figure 4.2 shows the percentages of responses in each category by age levels. The categories are listed in the order of frequency of usage as indicated in Figure 4.1.

All age groups designated themselves more frequently by sex (as 'boys' or 'girls') than by any other term. The use of these terms, though, decreased consistently with age. Also used less frequently with increasing age were 'child' and 'person'. On the other hand, frequency of 'student' and 'human being' increased as age increased. There was no increase with age in the use of

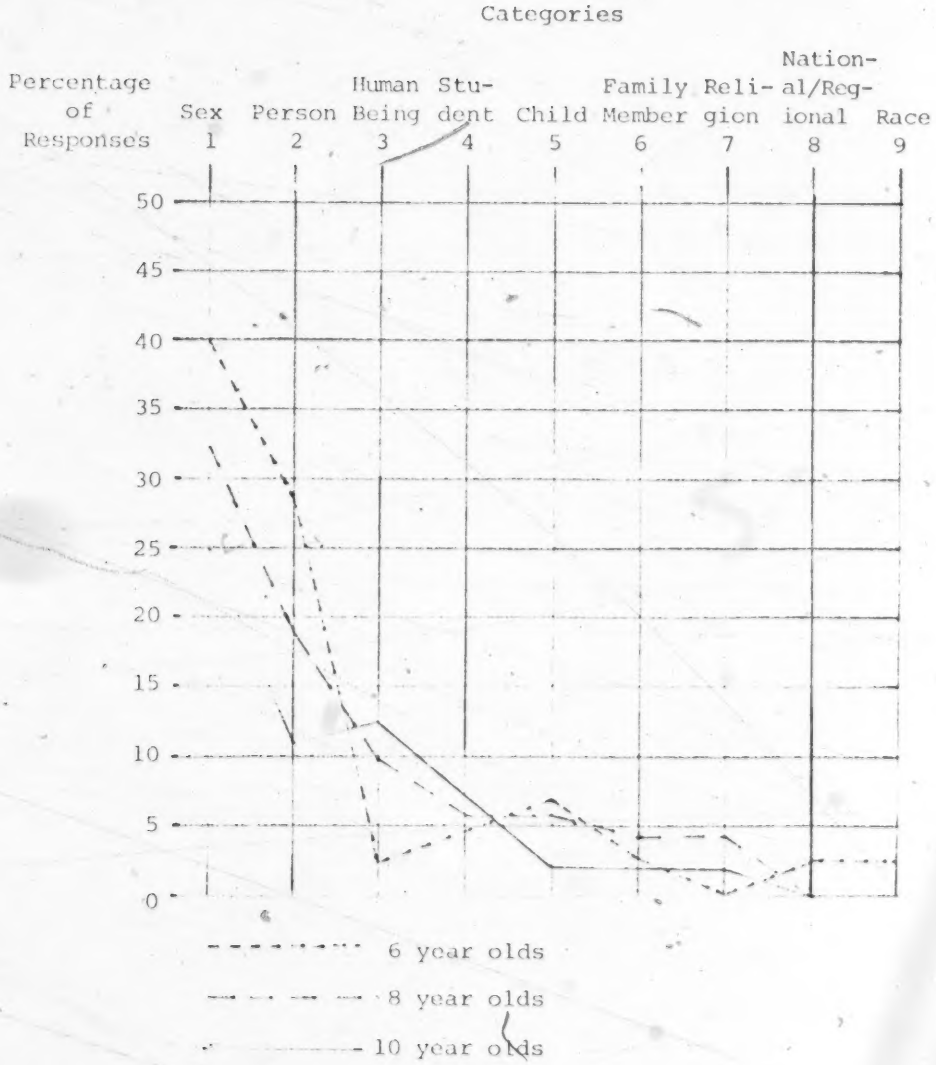


Figure 4.2

Percentages of Responses by Category to the Self Awareness Task 1

terms which would indicate awareness of membership in the more remote, decentered socio-cultural groups.

Question 1(c)

What relationships, if any, exist between Canadian children's group identification, and their cultural background and principal language usage?

Table 4.2 reports the distribution of cultural origins of Group 1 and Group 2, and the sample as a whole. All subjects attended English speaking schools and used English in all or most of their daily interactions with peers and in their community life. Only 14, or 23.33%, of the subjects could be categorized as having cultural origins in the British Isles where English is spoken. The remaining 46, or 76.67% were predominantly of German and Ukrainian origin. Several of the subjects of non-British Isles origin could speak, or had parents or relatives who spoke, the language of their cultural origin.

In the Cultural Identity Task, five dolls which represented the following cultural groups were randomly arranged in a row in front of each subject:

1. Canadian Eskimo (CE)
2. Canadian Indian (CI)
3. English Canadian (EC)
4. French Canadian (FC)
5. (Subject's Cultural Origin Group) Canadian (OC).

Table 4.2

Distribution of Sample According to Cultural Origin

Cultural Origin	Group 1	Group 2	Sample
German	10	19	29
Ukrainian	7	1	8
Scottish	4	3	7
English (British)	2	4	6
Spanish	1	1	2
Austrian	0	1	1
Danish	1	0	1
Dutch	1	0	1
Greek	1	0	1
Irish	1	0	1
Norwegian	0	1	1
Polish	1	0	1
Swedish	1	0	1
Total	30	30	60

Note: The term British Canadian was used in the study to indicate subjects whose ancestral origin was England.

Each subject was asked to indicate which one of the five cultural groups was most like himself.

Observations

Of particular interest in this task was to ascertain whether subjects identified more with their cultural origin group, with the broad 'English Canadian' group, or possibly with one of the remaining groups. Cultural origin and language usage were considered as major competing influences. The sample results were subdivided into subjects of British Isles origin and non-British Isles origin. It was anticipated that the subjects of British Isles origin might identify with the English Canadian group to a greater extent than would the non-British Isles group since the former group has a common language with English Canadians. The results of the subjects' choices are shown in Table 4.3.

A total of 48 subjects (80%) indicated most similarity with the English Canadian cultural group, 9 subjects (15%) based their similarity on their cultural origin, and 3 subjects (5%) chose as most similar to themselves groups with neither the same cultural origins nor the same language usage. Generally the majority of the subjects identified with the English Canadian group, that is, the group reflecting their principal language usage. The three subjects who did not use either cultural origin or language usage as the basis for their choices were

Table 4.3

Relationship Between Subjects' Group Identity, and Cultural Origin and Principal Linguistic Usage

Subjects	Criteria Used in Selection of Group Perceived as Most Like Self: Cultural Origin	Principal Language Usage (English Canadian Group Chosen)	Other	Total
Non-British Isles Origin				
n = 46				
German	1	28	0	29
Ukrainian	3	5	0	8
Spanish	2	0	0	2
Austrian	1	0	0	1
Danish	1	0	0	1
Dutch	0	1	0	1
Greek	0	1	0	1
Norwegian	0	1	0	1
Polish	0	1	0	1
Swedish	0	1	0	1
Subtotals	8	38	0	46
British Isles Origin				
n = 14				
Scottish	1	5	1(CI)	7
English	0	4	2(FC)	6
Irish	0	1	0	1
Subtotals	1	10	3	14
Total	9	48	3	60

from the British Isles origin group. Two of these three chose French Canadian as most similar to themselves. The third, a six year old, indicated most similarity with the Canadian Indian group.

Only 1 of 14 subjects of British Isles origin used cultural origin as the criteria for selecting the group most like himself. Of 46 subjects of non-British Isles origin, 8 based their selection on this same cultural origin criteria. This indicates a slightly greater trend (7.14% as compared to 17.39%) for the latter group, as was anticipated, to use cultural origin as the basis for selection. The most noticeable trend is that indicated by subjects of German origin. Only 1 of 29 indicated most similarity with the German Canadian cultural group. Although the number of subjects with Ukrainian origin was only 8, 3 indicated most similarity with the Canadian Ukrainian group. This may indicate another trend.

RESEARCH QUESTION TWO

How do Canadian children perceive different cultural groups within Canada?

It was speculated that tasks which indicate the degree of affection for different cultural groups as possible friends or for group membership might reveal an important aspect of children's perceptions of these groups.

The first segments of both cultural understanding

tasks, the Choose a Friend: A and Choose a Group: A tasks, were used for measures. These required subjects to place the five dolls, representing different cultural groups within Canada, on boards which indicated their affection for each group on a ten-point scale.

Mean scores are used to make several comparisons. Two three-way analyses of variance were performed on the data using the ANOVA 30 program of the Division of Educational Research Services, University of Alberta. The independent variables were age (6, 8, 10), social contact (Group 1 and Group 2), and the cultural group represented by the five dolls.

One analysis was performed on the Choose a Friend task, and another on the Choose a Group task. The Scheffé multiple comparisons test was also used to determine the most significant mean differences.

Question 2(a)

For which cultural groups in Canada do Canadian children show affection?

Observations

Mean scores of the subjects' placement of the dolls for the Choose a Friend and Choose a Group tasks are presented in Table 4.4. For both tasks, the order in which the cultural groups were ranked in affection was the same.

Greater affection for the English Canadian group,

Table 4.4

Mean Scores for Subject's Choices of Friends, and Groups for Membership
N = 60

Task	Subject's Cultural Origin: English Canadian	French Canadian	Canadian Indian	Canadian Eskimo
Choose a Friend	2.47	3.65	5.43	5.53	5.57
Choose a Group	2.15	4.47	5.38	5.67	6.45

Note: The lower the score the greater the affection (maximum score = 10).

which represent the subjects' principal language usage, and for the subjects' cultural origin group occurred as might be expected. Since the subjects also indicated that these groups were the most like them in response to research question 1(c), the degree of affection and similarity seem to be highly related. Higher scores, indicating less affection, were given to the Canadian Eskimo and Canadian Indian group. This could be interpreted as an extension of the similarity-affection relation previously mentioned; in this case, the less similarity perceived, the less affection shown.

The scores for the French Canadian group, the middle group in the rank ordering, are noteworthy. These scores fall closer to the least liked groups, the Indian and Eskimo, than to the most liked groups for both tasks, and much closer in the Choose a Friend task. Thus the two liked groups form a cluster, and the French Canadian group along with the Canadian Eskimo and Canadian Indian form a least liked cluster. This seems to indicate that the subjects make considerable differentiation between liked and not liked groups on the basis of language. Had this middle score been closer to the most liked groups than to the least liked groups, this may have indicated differentiation on the basis of some trait such as race or cultural habits. This however did not occur.

It should be noted that a difference of 9 points

was possible between the most liked and least liked groups. In fact, the difference was 3.1 points on the Choose a Friend task and 4.3 on the Choose a Group task. Thus when the least liked group is referred to, a strong dislike is not indicated.

Scores for groups, except for the French Canadian (which were almost identical) and the English Canadian, were lower on the Choose a Friend task (that is, showed more affection) than on the Choose a Group task. It appears that children are slightly more willing to have a member of another group for a friend than they would wish to belong to that group themselves.

It would appear that children, by the time they are six to ten years of age, have already developed specific feelings about different Canadian cultural groups.

Question 2(b)

Is there an age group difference among Canadian children in their degree of affection for different cultural groups?

Observations

The analyses of variance summarized by Table 4.5 and Table 4.6 indicate that significant differences in the scores for both tasks are related to the variable age. On the Choose a Friend task, the overall means for each age level were: 6 years - 5.15, 8 years - 4.55, and 10

Table 4.5

Three Way Analysis of Variance on Choosing a Friend
N = 60

Source	S.S.	df	M.S.	F Ratio	Prob.
Social Contact	4.563	1	4.563	0.92	0.343
Age	74.480	2	37.240	7.47	0.001*
Social Contact x Age	0.984	2	0.492	0.10	0.906

* $p < .01$

Table 4.6

Three Way Analysis of Variance on Choosing a Group
N = 60

Source	S.S.	df	M.S.	F Ratio	Prob.
Social Contact	1.203	1	1.203	0.31	0.579
Age	59.445	2	29.723	7.71	0.001*
Social Contact x Age	13.688	2	6.844	1.78	0.179

* $p < .01$

years - 3.93. This seems to indicate an age level difference with older children showing more affection for different cultural groups. Applying the Scheffé test of multiple comparisons to the data, shows that significant differences do not exist between the 8 year olds and either of the other two age levels. A significant difference at the .01 level was found between the 6 and 10 year olds. For the Choose a Group task, the means were: 6 years - 5.36, 8 years - 4.84, and 10 years - 4.27, indicating the same trend toward a greater affection with age. Significant differences at the .01 level between these means also existed on the Choose a Group task between the 6 and 10 year olds, but not between either of these levels and the 8 year olds.

The mean scores for each age level's ratings of the cultural groups are outlined for both Choose a Friend and Choose a Group tasks in Table 4.7. The rank order of the mean scores for the 10 year old level followed the same order as the rank order for the total sample. However, two noteworthy variations from the total sample means occurred at the 6 and 8 year levels. For both tasks, the 8 year old level's mean score for the French Canadian group was noticeably higher than the mean of the total sample. Similarly, for both tasks, the six year old level's mean score for the Canadian Indian group was noticeably higher than the total sample mean. The 8 year

Table 4.7

Mean Scores by Ages for Subjects' Choices of Friends, and Groups for Membership
N = 60

Task	Age Group	Subject's Cultural Origin: English Canadian	French Canadian	Canadian Indian	Canadian Eskimo
Choose	10	2.20	3.70	4.30	4.40	5.05
a	8	2.85	3.00	6.15	5.05	5.50
Friend	6	2.35	4.25	5.85	7.15	6.15
Choose	10	1.65	4.20	4.65	4.90	5.95
a	8	2.35	3.95	6.05	5.10	6.75
Group	6	2.45	5.25	5.45	7.00	6.65

Note: The lower the score, the greater the affection (maximum score = 10).

old subjects seem to differentiate more on the basis of language while the six year old subjects appear to do so on the basis of racial differences as well as language.

Question 2(c)

To what degree is this affection for different cultural groups in Canada related to the extent of social contact which Canadian children have with culturally dissimilar groups?

Observations

The analyses of variance, Tables 4.5 and 4.6, did not indicate any significant difference between the sub-samples, Groups 1 and 2, on the Choose a Friend or Choose a Group tasks. However, a comparison of Group 1 and Group 2 means by age levels indicates some specific trends. Table 4.8 summarizes the mean scores of Group 1 and Group 2 on the two tasks according to age levels. The same trend of greater affection in relation to age as indicated previously for the total sample is shown on each task for both groups. However, the largest difference between Group 1 and Group 2 means on each task was recorded by the youngest subjects while the smallest difference was recorded by the oldest subjects. This pattern is influenced largely by Group 2, as both the highest mean and the lowest mean recorded by any age level were from Group 2, the group which has contact with the Canadian Indian group.

Table 4.8

Mean Ratings of Groups With and Without Regular Social Contact with Culturally Different People
N = 60

Task	Group	Age Level 6	8	10	Group Means
Choose a Friend	1	5.20	4.64	4.12	4.65
	2	5.10	4.38	3.74	4.40
Choose a Group	1	5.02	5.02	4.24	4.76
	2	5.70	4.66	4.30	4.88

The six year olds in Group 2 had the highest, most negative score while the lowest, most positive score was by the ten year olds in Group 2. This pattern can be examined in a broader perspective on Table 4.9 where the means are shown for Group 1 and Group 2 by age levels and for cultural groups. To attempt to determine whether children's perceptions of culturally different people are related to the amount of social contact with these people, comparisons between the mean scores of Groups 1 and 2 on selecting a Canadian Indian friend or group are made. On both tasks the 6 and 8 year level subjects from Group 2 scored the Canadian Indians considerably more negatively than did their counterparts in Group 1. The largest differences in means between Group 1 and Group 2 for all comparisons were registered here. However, the Group 2 subjects at the 10 year level ranked the Indians more positively than those 10 year olds in Group 1. Thus the pattern which emerges with Group 1 is a negative rating of Canadian Indians at age 6, becoming more positive by age 8, then becoming almost as negative at age 10 as it had been at age 6. On the other hand, the pattern of ratings toward Canadian Indians shown by Group 2 is of a quite negative rating at age 6, more negative than for 6 year olds in Group 1. Although it becomes consistently more positive through the 8 year and 10 year levels, Group 2-8 year olds perceive the Canadian Indians more negatively than the

Table 4.9

Mean Scores of Groups With and Without Social Contact With Culturally Different People According to Ages and Affection for Other Cultural Groups
N = 60

Age	Group	Cultural Group CE	CI	OC	EC	FC
		Task: Choose a Friend				
10	1	5.8	5.2	3.1	2.2	4.3
	2	4.3	3.6	4.3	2.2	4.3
8	1	6.4	4.3	3.1	2.4	7.0
	2	4.6	5.8	2.9	3.3	5.3
6	1	6.6	6.0	4.0	2.8	6.6
	2	5.7	8.3	4.5	1.9	5.1
		Task: Choose a Group				
10	1	6.2	5.4	3.7	1.3	4.6
	2	5.7	4.4	4.7	2.0	4.7
8	1	6.8	3.9	5.1	2.6	6.7
	2	6.7	6.3	2.8	2.1	5.4
6	1	6.1	6.2	4.8	1.7	6.3
	2	7.2	7.8	5.7	3.2	4.6

Group 1-8 year olds. The 10 year Group 2 rating is the most positive encountered in this task. This raises the question as to what psychological, social, or cultural factors might be related to this development, in answer to which an attempt to identify possible influences will be conducted in discussion of the fifth research question.

An examination of the ratings of the other cultural groups shows both Group 1 and Group 2 are least differentiated in their ratings of English Canadians. Group 1 subjects at the 6 and 8 year levels rated the French Canadian group considerably more negatively than did Group 2 subjects at these same age levels. There is, however, little difference in the ratings of French Canadians by 10 year olds of each group. The 8 and 10 year old Group 1 subjects rated the Canadian Eskimo more negatively than did the corresponding Group 2 subjects. It should be noted that each group gave more negative ratings than the other group approximately the same number of times, thus indicating that neither group as a whole is consistently more positive or negative in comparison with the other.

The main difference between Group 1 and Group 2 is their more negative ratings given to certain cultural groups at the different age levels. Social contact with Canadian Indians would appear to have a greater negative influence at ages six and eight. At age ten, social

contact would appear to be a positive influence.

RESEARCH QUESTION THREE

How does Canadian children's reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar groups develop?

Background to Research Question 3

Reciprocity, the objective understanding of other people's points of view, was measured by the cultural understanding tasks. Measures of reciprocity on these tasks were provided in two ways. First, each individual subject's choice of dolls and his reasons for his choices were analyzed to determine whether reciprocity was shown and, if so, qualitative differences in the levels of reciprocity. A second measure analyzed group means of rank order placements of the dolls when the subjects were indicating their own preferences and when they were taking the role of the Canadian Indian. This latter analysis is reported at the end of this section. These tasks differentiated between a lower level reciprocity and a higher level reciprocity. Research questions 3(a) and 3(b) are subsumed by this differentiation. That is, findings on questions 3(a) and 3(b) are discussed in relation to lower level reciprocity; then 3(a) and 3(b) findings in relation to higher level reciprocity are discussed.

The cultural understanding tasks tested the subject's ability to decenter from his own viewpoint in order

to take the viewpoint of someone from another cultural group. The tasks seemed suitable because they tested a wide range of ability and, because as well as testing cognitive ability, considerable affect was involved when the subject was required to decide between two seemingly correct answers involving his own and a Canadian Indian's decision. It was thought that these tasks would present the subjects with situations resembling Kohlberg's moral dilemmas, but of more immediate concern to the child and involving culturally dissimilar people. The stages in the development of the ability to take the viewpoint of others were differentiated using Selman's (Selman and Byrne, 1974) analysis of levels of role taking in middle childhood (Appendix D contains a complete description of Selman's levels of role taking). These levels reflect increasing decentration from one's own point of view to take the point of view of others. His analysis is based on Piaget's theory and on studies by Feffer (1959, 1971) and Flavell (1968). He has focused on role taking as it is used within Kohlberg's (1969) moral development framework. A brief overview of the main characteristics of Selman's levels is presented here.

Level 0: Egocentric Role Taking. The child cannot differentiate between his point of view and that of others. He is unconsciously egocentric in his view of the world because he does not realize that other points of

view are possible.

Level 1: Subjective Role Taking. The child is aware tnat another person may feel or think differently, but is unable to maintain his own perspective and simultaneously put himself in the place of the other in attempting to judge the other's actions.

Level 2: Self-reflective Role Taking. The child is fully aware that people think and feel differently. He is able to reflect on his own behaviour as seen from another's point of view.

Level 3: Mutual Role Taking. The child is able to take the viewpoint of a third person in contemplating his own and another's point of view. He can consider these two points of view simultaneously.

Cultural Understanding Tasks and Their Relationship to Role Taking Levels

Qualitative differences in responses to the cultural understanding tasks were identified. The sub-tasks differed qualitatively in the understanding of the other required, and these levels of understanding of the culturally dissimilar person, that is the level of reciprocity, seemed to parallel Selman's levels. Thus, levels of reciprocity reflect the same decentration process as role taking. The relationship between Selman's role taking levels and the cultural understanding sub-tasks is presented here.

Task	Reciprocity Levels Differentiated
1. Choose a Friend Task (CAF) and Choose a Friend - Decentration Task (CAF-D) and Choose a Group Task (CAG) and Choose a Group - Decentration Task (CAG-D)	Between Level 0 and Level 1
2. Choose a Friend Reciprocity Task (CAF-R) and Choose a Group Reciprocity Task (CAG-R)	Particularly between Levels 1 and 3, and Levels 2 and 3

Scoring of Cultural Understanding Tasks

In order to categorize the level of reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar people using Selman's role taking levels, the choice and placement of the dolls and the subject's reasons for his decisions were considered. The choice of a particular friend or group did not by itself necessarily indicate the subject's understanding of the point of view of the other. The reasons were found to be of great importance as they showed the thoughts and feelings of the subject and thus helped to indicate whether or not he was taking this other's point of view. The reasons also at times indicated possible psychological or sociological factors influencing the subject's

understanding of a culturally dissimilar group.

Reliability of the Analysis

For a test of reliability, the investigator and two psychologists from the University of Alberta, Edmonton, independently scored all responses of twenty randomly selected subjects. These scores were discussed, and it was felt by all that the sharing of interpretations of the responses with one another provided a greater understanding of the thoughts and feelings of the subjects. From the remaining forty subjects, twelve subjects (20% of the total sample) were ~~randomly~~ selected. The investigator and the two psychologists independently scored these. The reliability of the investigator's analysis of the responses was established calculating the percentage of inter-scorer agreement using the Arrington formula (1932) reported by Feifel and Lorge (1950, p. 5):

$$\frac{2 \times \text{agreements}}{(2 \times \text{agreements}) + \text{disagreements}}.$$

After the scoring of the responses, the investigator discussed areas of disagreement with each of the other judges separately. A second reliability rating was calculated. The first and second measures of reliability are reported for the two levels of tasks.

1. Choose a Friend/Choose a Friend - Decentration and Choose a Group/Choose a Group - Decentration Tasks:

	first	second
a. investigator and first judge	100%	100%
b. investigator and second judge	93.33%	96.65%
c. first judge and second judge	93.33%	--

2. Choose a Friend - Reciprocity and Choose a Group - Reciprocity Tasks:

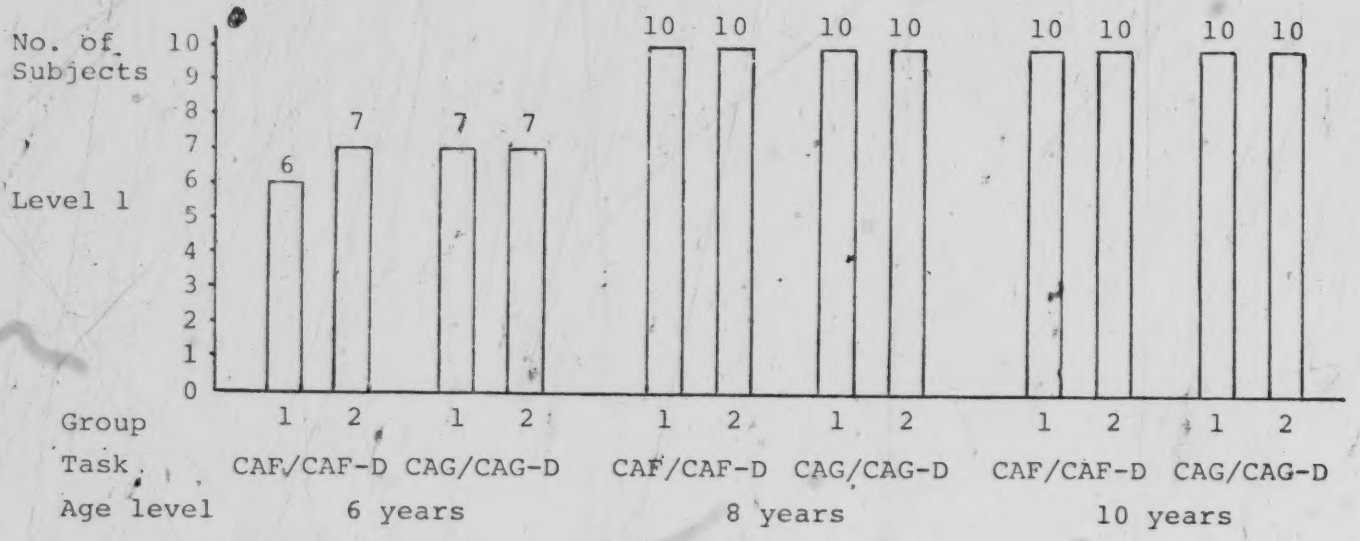
	first	second
a. investigator and first judge	85.33%	88.61%
b. investigator and second judge	89.94%	93.83%
c. first judge and second judge	88.31%	--

Differentiation Between Lower Levels of Reciprocity

The tasks involved here were the Choose a Friend (CAF), Choose a Friend - Decentration (CAF-D), Choose a Group (CAG), and Choose a Group - Decentration (CAG-D). In these tasks the subject was first asked to indicate which of the five groups represented by the dolls in front of him he would most like to have as his best friend (CAF) or as a group to belong to (CAG), and to give reasons for his choices. To determine whether the subject decentered from his own point of view, he was then asked to indicate

which group he thought someone else, a Canadian Indian child, would choose in these situations (CAF-D, CAG-D), and the reasons for the choices. He was also asked who would least likely be chosen as a friend and group to belong to by himself and by a Canadian Indian child, and for all four choices was asked to give his reasons. These tasks differentiated between subjects who took the viewpoint of the Canadian Indian in choosing a friend or group to belong to and attributed reasons to this other, and subjects who did not indicate the understanding that the Canadian Indian might have a viewpoint of his own for reasons of his own, both of which might be different from the subject's. This differentiation was considered to be similar to that of between levels 0 and 1 in Selman's role taking scale. Although reciprocity is more distinguishable in levels 2 and 3, it may have its beginning in level 1. If the subject used the same criteria in choosing a friend or group for the Canadian Indian as he did when choosing for himself, or otherwise indicated that he was putting himself in the other's place, he was considered to be showing reciprocity at this basic level.

The results of the Choose a Friend/Choose a Friend - Decentration and Choose a Group/Choose a Group - Decentration task are presented in Figure 4.3. The results of each task are reported separately, and are discussed as they relate to research questions 3(a) and 3(b).



Note: n = 10 for each age level within Group 1 and Group 2. Reciprocity for these tasks indicates a minimum of level 1 role taking ability.

Figure 4.3

Reciprocity Shown on CAF/CAF-D and CAG/CAG-D Tasks by Group 1 and Group 2 According to Age Levels

Question 3(a)

Is there an age group difference in reciprocity shown toward culturally dissimilar groups for

(i) children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

(ii) children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

Observations in Relation to Lower Level Reciprocity

A comparison of the total number of subjects within age levels who demonstrated reciprocity on the particular tasks used indicates an age differentiation in both Group 1 and Group 2 between 6 year olds and the other two age groups (8 and 10). At the 6 year level a maximum of seven of a possible ten subjects in both Group 1 and Group 2 showed reciprocity whereas all 8 and 10 year olds from both Group 1 and Group 2 did so on each task.

Question 3(b)

Is there a difference within age groups between Canadian children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group and children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group in their reciprocity toward this group?

Observations in Relation to Lower Level Reciprocity

The influence of social contact would not seem to

be related to the showing of reciprocity on the tasks used. The 8 and 10 year old scores were identical for the CAF/CAF-D and CAG/CAG-D tasks for Groups 1 and 2, and at the 6 year level there was a difference of only one fewer Group 1 subject showing reciprocity on the CAF/CAF-D task.

Examples of Responses on CAF/CAF-D and CAG/CAG-D Tasks

The following examples of responses from 6 year olds demonstrate the difference between those who did and those who did not show reciprocity at this level.

Reciprocity shown.

T.N. - CAF: Chooses an English Canadian.

Reason: "Well, it's because they speak English."

CAF-D: Chooses a Canadian Indian.

Reason: "Cause she's more like yourself. Cause I'm a Canadian Indian girl now and I like them."

C.A. - CAG: Chooses an English Canadian.

Reason: "Cause I'm one and my Mom and Dad, they would be one. Cause I'm one."

CAG-D: Chooses a Canadian Indian.

Reason: "Cause her Mom and Dad and her brother and sister are that."

Reciprocity not shown.

D.M. - CAF: Chooses an English Canadian.

Reason: "Because he's a friend."

CAF-D: Also chooses an English Canadian.

Reason: "Because it's my best one."

D.L. - CAF: Chooses a Ukrainian Canadian.

Reason: "Because I like it more for a friend. Cause I could understand it."

CAF-D: Also chooses a Ukrainian Canadian.

Reason: "Cause - um - I like it."

Age but not social contact with culturally different people may be related to the showing of reciprocity at level 1. All 8 and 10 year olds but not all 6 year olds indicate the understanding that culturally different people have viewpoints of their own.

Differentiation Between Higher Levels of Reciprocity

As indicated, most subjects took the viewpoint of the other as required for choosing a friend or group for the Canadian Indian (CAF/CAF-D, CAG/CAG-D), and were thus assumed to be at a minimum of level 1 in reciprocity development. In order to measure more complex levels of reciprocity, the more probing questioning format of the Choose a Friend - Reciprocity (CAF-R) and Choose a Group - Reciprocity (CAG-R) tasks was utilized. After it was pointed out to the subject that his choice of a best friend/group and that of the Canadian Indian were different,

the subject was asked "Who's more right in his choice - you or the Canadian Indian?" In its requirements for coordination of different points of view and resolution of apparent conflict between them, the tasks resemble Kohlberg's moral dilemmas. It was thought that level 2 and level 3 role taking skills would be involved in these tasks and that the levels could usually be differentiated as outlined here:

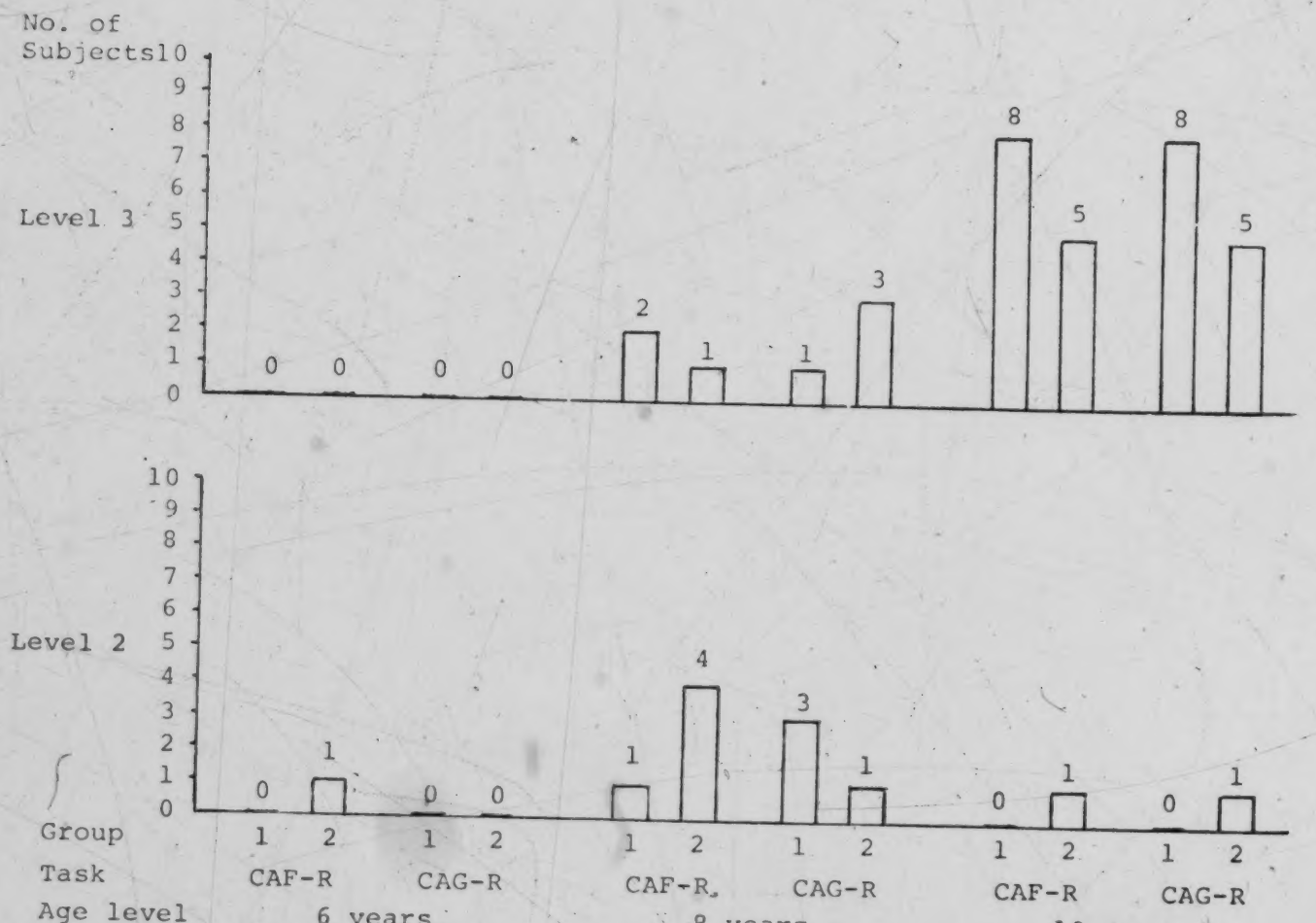
Level 2 - the subject is aware that the other, a Canadian Indian, has his own point of view and set of values, and that the other is aware of the subject's point of view. Although the subject can view himself from this other point of view, he cannot grasp these two points of view simultaneously, and thus cannot perceive the situation from a third person perspective. When asked who is more right in the choice of friends/groups he centers on his own and the other's choices sequentially, rather than simultaneously or mutually. This may be called 'horizontal' or 'lateral' reciprocity.

Level 3 - the subject is aware of all level 2 developments but now decenters sufficiently to understand the situation from a third person perspective. He considers both viewpoints simultaneously and sees that his viewpoint may be as right for him as the Canadian Indian's is for him. He generalizes that neither choice is more right because objectively each could be equally valid.

This level was considered to be 'full' reciprocity for these tasks.

To test how firmly reciprocity was established, subjects who had reached level 3 were asked "Who is nicer?" or "Who is smarter?". If the subject centered on one or the other group in response to these questions, he was considered to have dropped to a point resembling level 1. If he maintained the objective viewpoint of a third person and indicated that neither friend/group was nicer or smarter because of some criterion which overrode personal preference, it was considered that full reciprocity was consistently utilized in relation to a culturally dissimilar group. Both Piaget and Kohlberg have noted that in certain situations, usually involving strong feelings or attitudes, a person may drop to a lower level of mental operations and center on a particular choice, especially one which satisfies personal feelings and needs. It was felt that there was stronger affect involved in answering the question "Who is nicer?" than "Who is more right?" and that this greater affective component broke down the incipient reciprocity which had been shown when less affective content was involved.

The results of the CAF-R and CAG-R tasks are presented in Figure 4.4. The totals indicate the number of subjects by age level and by groups who reached levels 2 and 3 for each of these tasks.


No. of Subjects
Level 3
Level 2
0 0 0 0 2 1 1 3 8 5 8 5
0 1 0 0 1 4 3 1 0 1 0 1
Group
Task
Age level
1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2
CAF-R CAG-R CAF-R CAG-R CAF-R CAG-R
6 years
8 years
10 years

Note: n = 10 for each age level within Group 1 and Group 2.

Figure 4.4

Higher Level Reciprocity Shown on CAF-R and CAG-R Tasks by Group 1 and Group 2 Subjects According to Age Levels

Question 3(a)

Is there an age group difference in reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar people for:

(i) children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

(ii) children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

Observations in Relation to Higher Level Reciprocity

The comparison in Figure 4.4 of the total number of subjects who demonstrated reciprocity at levels 2 and 3 indicates considerable variation by age. Only one 6 year old reached level 2 which he did on only one of the tasks. Among the 8 year old subjects, six showed reciprocity at level 2 a total of nine times, at level 3 five demonstrated reciprocity a total of seven times, and nine at this age did not progress beyond level 1 on either task. The greatest age differentiation in level 3 reciprocity occurred between the 8 and 10 year old subjects. Fourteen 10 year old subjects attained level 3 reciprocity a total of twenty-six times, one 10 year old was categorized at level 2, and five did not reach beyond level 1 on either task.

Figure 4.5 combines the results of all tasks which were used to determine the levels of reciprocity, that is, the CAF/CAF-D and CAG/CAG-D tasks with the CAF-R and CAG-R tasks. The highest level of reciprocity attained by

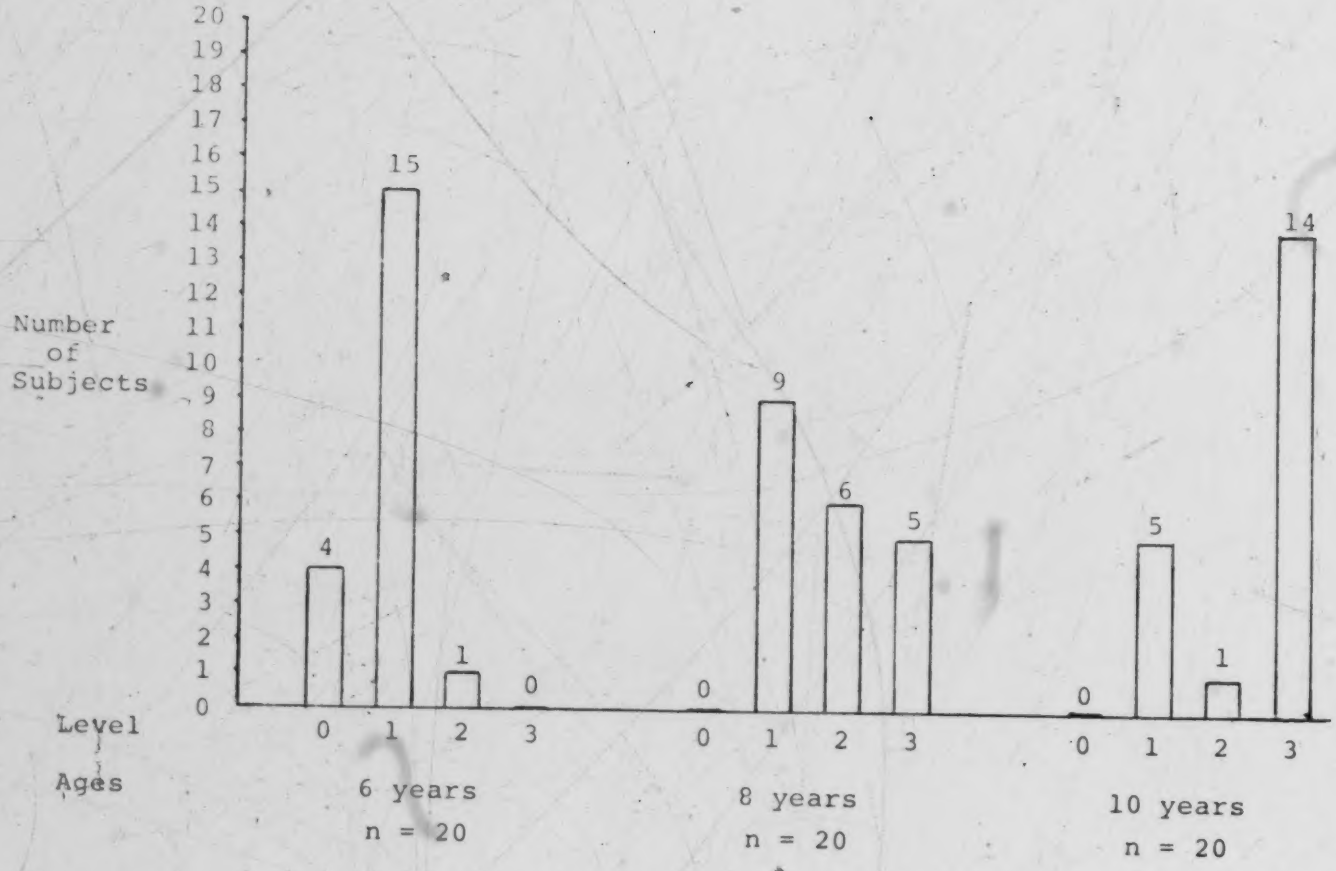


Figure 4.5

Highest Level of Reciprocity Reached by Ages

subjects by ages is graphically illustrated. Qualitative differences in reciprocity according to age can be examined.

Only among 6 year olds was level 0 the highest level scored. The number of subjects attaining level 1 as the highest level declined with increasing age. Level 2 was the highest level reached by 8 year olds more frequently than by other ages. Level 3 reciprocity was shown by some 8 year olds, who were outnumbered considerably by 10 year olds at this level.

Reciprocity toward other cultural groups would appear to increase quantitatively and qualitatively through the three age levels represented in this study.

Question 3(b)

> Is there a difference within age groups between Canadian children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group and Canadian children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group in their reciprocity toward this group?

Observations in Relation to Higher Level Reciprocity

Only at the 8 and 10 year old levels where sufficient subjects attained levels 2 and 3 are comparisons between Group 1 and Group 2 possible. No noticeable difference between Groups 1 and 2 was detected at level 2. Some difference between these groups can be seen at

level 3. Group 1, which had limited or no social contact with Canadian Indians, contained more subjects who showed reciprocity on both tasks than did Group 2. Conclusions from this small difference would not seem warranted.

Examples of Responses

The following were selected as examples of subjects who did not and subjects who did reach the level 3 reciprocity in response to the question "Who's more right?".

Level 3 Reciprocity Not Shown

J.S. (6 years) CAF-R

Interviewer. Now, you said this (FC) was the best friend for yourself . . . Then you said the Indian says that this is the best friend - the Canadian Eskimo. You say this is the best friend. You said the Canadian Indian says this is the best friend. Now who's more right in picking friends?

Subject. This one.

I. Why are you more right for picking the French Canadian?

S. Cause he's the same with me.

E.B. (8 years) CAG-R

I. You think this is the best group to belong to (EC). She thinks this (CI) is the best group. Now, who is more right about her choice of group?

S. The Indian.

I. Why is the Indian more right choosing this group?

S. Because, um, lots of times she speaks English.

I. Why is she more right choosing this group now than

you are choosing this group?

S. Because, um, she'd be an Indian and have dark skin.

H.L. (8 years) CAG-R

I. Which group did you choose to belong to?

S. English Canadian.

I. You think that's the best group to belong to. Then when I said to you what would the Canadian Indian girl think was the best group to belong to, what did you say?

S. This one (CI).

I. Now, what do you really think? Who's more right?

S. The English Canadian.

I. Why do you think so?

S. Well, they live in nice houses and eat good food.

I. Yes.

S. And they don't talk funny.

An analysis of the reasons given when subjects do not show reciprocity may reveal unconscious or conscious egocentric or sociocentric influences.

Level 3 Reciprocity Shown

S.L. (8 years) CAG-R

I. You said that this (EC) was the best group. The Indian girl says this (CI) is the best group to belong to. Now who is more right?

S. They both are because they each want to be like most of, like uh, where they live and stuff.

I. Pardon? They're both right because—?

S. Because they want to be like most people where they live and, um, they want to speak like their mother and father and they want to be the same

colour.

M.B. (10 years) CAG-R

I. You thought this (EC) would be the best group to belong to. He thinks this (CI) is the best group to belong to. Now who's more right about their choice of group?

S. Well, we both are, kind of.

I. Now are you more right for picking this group—

S. No.

I. —or is he more right for picking this group?

S. No. Um, we're both about the same. Because we both belong to these kind of people.

These subjects were able to see both their own and the Canadian Indian's viewpoint and do not center on either when asked "Who is more right?".

Stability of Reciprocity

For each subject who showed reciprocity at level 3, additional questions were posed to determine the strength of this reciprocity toward Canadian Indians. After the subject had indicated that neither he nor the Canadian Indian was more right in his choice of friends and groups, he was asked which friend and group, the one he chose or the one the Canadian Indian chose, was nicer or smarter. These questions seemed to involve greater affect, and if the subject still maintained his position of objectivity and answered that neither was nicer or smarter then the reciprocity he had shown was considered stable. If he,

instead, indicated that either his own or the Canadian Indian's choice was nicer or smarter, reciprocity was considered to be not strongly developed. The results of the "Who is nicer/smarter?" question used to test stability of reciprocity of subjects who attained level 3 on the CAF-R and/or CAG-R tasks are quite noteworthy. Nineteen subjects, five 8 year olds and fourteen 10 year olds, had shown reciprocity at level 3. When asked "Who is nicer/smarter?" only four subjects, one 8 and three 10 year olds, consistently maintained level 3 reciprocity on both tasks.

Examples of Responses

The following examples were selected to show subjects who did maintain and subjects who did not maintain level 3 reciprocity in response to the question, "Who's nicer?/Who's smarter?".

Level 3 Reciprocity Not Maintained

D.J. (8 years) CAG-R

I. The Indian would choose those (CI) as the best group to belong to. But, you said for yourself that this (EC) would be the best group to belong to. Now, who is more right - you or the Indian girl?

S. I think it would be both again.

I. Why?

S. Because some people have the same colour of hair and they might talk the same language.

I. O.K. Who's smarter?

S. I think the English.

I. Why do you say that?

S. They learn to dress faster.

I. Who would you say is nicer?

S. The English.

I. Why do you say that?

S. Because they go to school - all of them, and some Indians do not.

T.G. (10 years) CAG-R

I. You thought the English Canadian group would be the best. A Canadian Indian girl thinks the Canadian Indian group is the best group to belong to. Now, who made the best choice about the best group to belong to?

S. They made the same.

I. Why?

S. Well, because I know how to live with English Canadians and she knows how to live with Canadian Indians.

I. Which is the nicest group to belong to?

S. This one (EC).

I. Why the English Canadians?

S. Well, cause all my relatives are English, all Except my Grama and Grampa - they still speak German.

B.W. (10 years) CAF-R

I. You think English Canadians would make the best friend. He thinks a Canadian Indian would make the best friend. Now who's more right in his choice of friends?

S. Neither one.

I. Why not?

S. Because it's just that, well, why can't an Indian have a best Indian friend and why can't an English

have a best English friend?

I. You don't think—

S. Neither's better.

I. You don't think you're more right for picking the English Canadian than the Indian boy is for picking the Indian?

S. No.

I. Who would make a nicer friend?

S. I think the English Canadian would.

I. Why?

S. Well, it's just that around here most people don't like the Canadian Indian and the Indian speaks just a little different language than we do and we'd be able to talk to them (EC) easier.

These subjects did not maintain the objective viewpoint of level 3 reciprocity. They were influenced by egocentric or sociocentric factors and chose their own friends or group as being nicer or smarter.

Level 3 Reciprocity Maintained

C.A. (10 years) CAG-R

I. Now, when I asked you about a group to belong to, you thought that Scottish Canadian would be the best group.

S. Mmhm.

I. Then we tried to figure out which group a Canadian Indian would choose to belong to, and you thought he'd choose to belong to the Canadian Indian group. Who made the best choice of a group to belong to?

S. Neither because both like to belong to their own country and their own ancestors and relatives and that.

I. So you're saying that you can't really say one

is better than the other. Which group is really a nicer sort of group?

S. None of them because to both of us they're both—well, the Indian, the Canadian Indian would like a Canadian Indian group and I would like the Canadian Scottish.

I. Which group is smarter?

S. None of them because both of them are taught different ways of speaking and different ways of making things.

R.E. (10 years) CAG-R

I. You think a Canadian Eskimo would make the best friend. She thinks an English Canadian would make the best friend. Now, who is more right about their choice of friends?

S. Nobody.

I. Why not?

S. Everybody's the same—not everybody's the same but they have different feelings and different likings. Like she may like—going back to here—she may like onions for her first choice where I wouldn't.

I. Now you thought a Canadian Eskimo would make the best friend.

S. Mmhm.

I. An Indian girl thought an English Canadian would make the best friend. Now, which kind of person would really make the nicer friend?

S. Nobody really. You have to meet them first and play with them and talk to them to really judge them.

These subjects maintained their objective position when questioned in depth.

Analysis of Preferences for Cultural Groups when Choosing for Self and when Taking the Role of Another

Table 4.10 presents the mean ratings of affection by the subjects for the Canadian Indian, and then, in a reversal of roles, ratings of affection for the English Canadian as the subjects thought the Canadian Indian would rate them. A comparison of these two ratings might provide some indications of reciprocity. If an English Canadian subject was attracted to the Canadian Indian, he might be expected to reciprocate and indicate that the Canadian Indian would likewise be attracted to the English Canadian. Conversely, a negative rating of the Canadian Indian by the subject might be expected to point to a negative rating of the English Canadian by the Canadian Indian. It should be noted that these comparisons are based only on the placements of the dolls and do not take into consideration the reasons or motives behind the placements.

Observations of Ratings of Canadian Indians by Subject and of the English Canadians when Subject Took the Role of the Canadian Indian

A comparison of the mean ratings by each group indicates considerable consistency between placements on the Choose a Friend and Choose a Group tasks. Since the ratings of the Canadian Indian by the subjects were discussed for research question 2, the subjects' mean ratings of their own group, the English Canadian, when taking the

Table 4.10

Mean Ratings of Canadian Indians by Self and of English Canadians When Taking the Role of a Canadian Indian

		Self's Rating of Canadian Indian	Canadian Indian Rating of English Canadian (Role Taking)	
Group	Age	Task: Choose a Friend		Difference
1	6	6.0	5.7	-0.3
	8	4.3	5.7	+1.4
	10	5.2	3.6	-1.6
2	6	8.3	5.6	-2.7
	8	5.8	5.5	-0.3
	10	3.6	4.6	+1.0
Group	Age	Task: Choose a Group		Difference
1	6	6.2	6.0	-0.2
	8	3.9	4.3	+0.4
	10	5.4	4.2	-1.2
2	6	7.8	5.3	-2.5
	8	6.3	5.9	-0.4
	10	4.4	4.0	-0.4

Note: A negative difference indicates a more negative rating of the Canadian Indian than of the English Canadian. A positive difference indicates a more positive rating of the Canadian Indian than of the English Canadian.

role of the Canadian Indian will be emphasized here.

There was usually an increase in affection with age when taking the role of the Canadian Indian as well as when subjects were rating for themselves. More specifically, older subjects tended to show more affection toward all groups, including the Canadian Indian, when they were role taking, than did younger subjects.

The differences between the mean ratings have been calculated. These indicate that the 6 year old subjects from Group 1 and the 8 year old subjects from Group 2 gave approximately the same ratings as themselves for Canadian Indians and as Indians for English Canadians. This could be a form of reciprocity as these subjects seem to be implicitly saying, "You will like me as a friend (or my group) as much as I will like you as a friend (or your group)."

Group 1—8 year old subjects and Group 2—10 year olds assigned a more positive rating to the Canadian Indian than they did to the English Canadian when taking the role of the Indian. These might be implicitly saying, "You will not like me as much as I like you." This could be interpreted as the most willingness to show reciprocity demonstrated by any subjects. At least, sociocentric influences do not appear to be hindering understanding of the other.

The negative differences in the ratings of the 10

year olds from Group 1 and the 6 year olds of Group 2 are among the largest differences registered. These subjects may be implying, "You will like me as a friend (or my group) more than I will like you as a friend (or your group)." These subjects would not appear to be showing reciprocity, and in fact may be quite sociocentric in views of culturally dissimilar people. Since all 10 year old subjects, and most 6 year olds were able to take the viewpoint of the Canadian Indian at Level 1 reciprocity, they indicated a knowledge of whom the Canadian Indian would choose as a friend or group to belong to. It is the degree of affection toward Canadian Indians which seems to separate these last two groups from those previously described. Genesee (1974) found that English Canadian children were consistently ethnocentric when rating the French Canadians in Montreal on similar tasks. It is noteworthy that all children in this study do not follow a similarly consistent pattern when rating the Canadian Indian. Examining the scores of only Group 2 subjects, who would seem to more closely resemble those in Genesee's study because of the extent of social contact with culturally dissimilar people, at ages 6 and 8, the ages closest to those in Genesee's study, it was noted that these are consistently ethnocentric. However, by age 10 this trend seems to be reversing in these Group 2 subjects.

Of particular interest are the greater negative difference scored by Group 2 - 6 year olds (-2.7, -2.5) compared to Group 1 - 6 year olds (-0.3, -0.2), and the more positive difference in ratings by the Group 2 - 10 year olds (+1.0, -0.4) in comparison to the Group 1 - 10 year olds (-1.6, -1.2).

RESEARCH QUESTION FOUR

Is social decentration related to the development of reciprocity toward other cultural groups?

Background to Research Question 4

One of the main objectives of this study was to determine if cultural understanding is related to the ability for social decentration. Three social decentration tasks were administered to all subjects. The ability to decenter on these tasks was compared to the reciprocity shown on the cultural understanding tasks.

Social Decentration Tasks

Although decentration was required on all three social decentration tasks, there were qualitative differences in the levels of decentration required. Piaget and Weil (1951) outlined the levels of decentration involved in SDT 1 and SDT 2. The levels of decentration which could be involved in responses to SDT 3 were established by Flavel et al. (1968) and by Selman (1971a). A summary

of the decentration levels differentiated by each task is as follows:

Task	Levels of Decentration Differentiated
Social Decentration Task 1	0 and 1
	0 and 2
Social Decentration Task 2	0 and 1
	0 and 2
Social Decentration Task 3	2 and 3.

Scoring and Reliability

All social decentration task responses were scored independently by the investigator and two psychologists from McGill University, Montreal. The following inter-judge percentages of agreements were reached among the three judges:

Social Decentration Task 1 - complete agreement - 93.06%

Social Decentration Task 2 - complete agreement - 98.61%

Social Decentration Task 3 - complete agreement - 94.44%.

Results of Social Decentration Tasks

The total number of subjects who successfully decentered on each task, that is, reached the maximum level of decentration possible for each task is presented in Figure 4.6. Fourteen 6 year old subjects were successful on either of the first two tasks but none was successful on the third task. Sixteen 8 year olds decentered on either SDT 1 or SDT 2 but only two were successful on SDT 3.

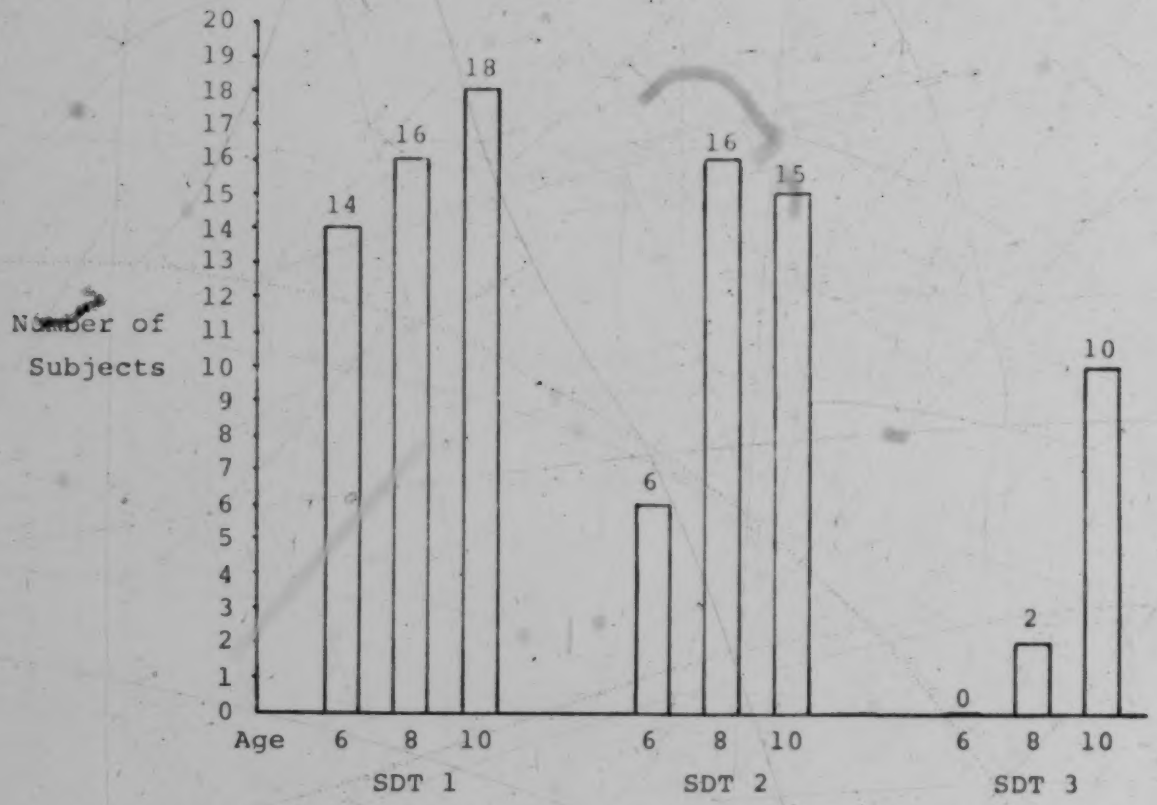


Figure 4.6

Number of Subjects who Successfully Decentered on Each Social Decentration Task

The third task most noticeably differentiated the 10 year old subjects from the other groups.

Although the degree of decentration required for Social Decentration Tasks 1 and 2 is the same, the 6 year old level was less successful with SDT 2. It may be that more abstract thinking is required for SDT 2 than for SDT 1. This result stresses the difficulty in attempting to equate decentration or role taking tasks. Flavel et al. (1968, p. 51) suggest that at any given level, certain operations may be later genetic achievements.

Question 4(a)

> Is there a difference in reciprocity shown toward other cultural groups between children who demonstrate a high level of social decentration and children who demonstrate a low level of social decentration?

Scores of social decentration were assigned to each subject using the following procedure:

Criteria	Social Decentration Level
No decentration on any of the three social decentration tasks	0
Decentration on only one of Social Decentration Task 1 or Task 2	1
Decentration on both Social Decentration Tasks 1 and 2, but not on Social Decentration Task 3	2

Decentration on the Social Decentration Task 3 3.

Scores of reciprocity had been obtained for each subject on the cultural understanding tasks. By grouping the subtasks, it was possible to differentiate specific levels of reciprocity or cultural understanding as follows:

Tasks	Cultural Understanding Levels Differentiated
First grouping	
Choose a Friend Task Choose a Friend - Decentration Task Choose a Group Task Choose a Group - Decentration Task	Mainly between Levels 0 and 1
Second grouping	
Choose a Friend - Reciprocity Task Choose a Group - Reciprocity Task	Mainly between Levels 2 and 3 and Levels 1 and 3.

From all tasks, the highest level of reciprocity shown by each subject was determined. This procedure was used also by Selman, Gordon and Damon (1973, p. 7) to compare role taking and moral development. Level 0, 1, 2, or 3 was assigned to each subject.

Observations

Thus each subject was given a social decentration score and a cultural understanding score according to the levels reached in each type of task as described above. Each subject's cultural understanding and social decentration scores were plotted on the 4 by 4 grid shown in Table 4.11. The overall correlation between cultural understanding and social decentration was found to be 0.57 ($p < .01$).

Question 4(b)

Is the development of social decentration a necessary condition for reciprocity toward other cultural groups?

Kohlberg (1971), Selman (1971a), and Selman, Gordon and Damon (1973) have found that role taking is a necessary but not sufficient condition for moral development. Because social decentration is an integral part of role taking, and because some cultural understanding decisions ('Who's more right?', 'Who's nicer?') have moral overtones, a similar 'necessary but not sufficient' relationship might be hypothesized between social decentration and cultural understanding.

Observations

To ascertain whether, in fact, social decentration is a necessary prerequisite for cultural understanding,

Table 4.11

Relationship Between Cultural Understanding and Social Decentration Scores
N = 60

Cultural Understanding Level Scores	Social Decentration Level Scores 0	1	2	3
3		2	8	9
2		2	4	
1	4	12	12	3
0	2	2		

the subject's reciprocity levels previously established were used. Two 2 by 2 grids were constructed, using the level placements from Table 4.11, and are shown in Table 4.12 and Table 4.13. If the 'necessary but not sufficient' relationship existed, to attain level 3 as a cultural understanding score, it would be necessary to register at level 3 on the social decentration score. A total of nineteen subjects reached level 3 on the cultural understanding tasks while only nine of these had shown level 3 ability on the social decentration tasks. Thus for ten subjects, four from Group 1 and six from Group 2, social decentration was not a necessary prerequisite to cultural understanding, while for nine subjects it seems to have been.

At a lower level, if social decentration is a prerequisite to cultural understanding, cultural understanding at level 1 would not be possible for a subject scoring at level 0 on social decentration. However, this did occur in four cases.

According to the scores obtained, it would appear that in most of the 120 cases cultural understanding did not precede the equivalent level of social decentration. However, in the fourteen cases mentioned above, the opposite occurred.

There are possible explanations of these exceptions. The underlying structure of tasks involving

Table 4.12

Level 3 Social Decentration as a Necessary But Not Sufficient Condition for Level 3 Cultural Understanding

Cultural Understanding Level Scores	Social Decentration Level Scores: Less than 3	Social Decentration Level Scores: 3
3	10	9
Less than 3	38	3

Table 4.13

Level 1 Social Decentration as a Necessary But Not Sufficient Condition for Level 1 Cultural Understanding

Cultural Understanding Level Scores	Social Decentration Level Scores: 0	Social Decentration Level Scores: Higher than 0
Higher than 0	4	52
0	2	2

decentration in the social realm appears to be in need of further refinement before it can be confidently stated that the levels of social decentration reached in the tasks used in this study parallel Selman's role taking levels. Although efforts were made to maximize the reliability using scoring procedures outlined previously, there may have been errors in placement of responses.

RESEARCH QUESTION FIVE

Can influences which may affect Canadian children's relations with different cultural groups be identified and mapped?

Categorization of Reasons for Choosing or Not Choosing a Friend or Group

The reasons given for choosing or for not choosing a friend or group as self and as a Canadian Indian were analyzed. It was hypothesized that this analysis would provide categories of reasons related to the willingness to show reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar people. No predetermined categorization structure was applied to the data thus gathered. Instead, categories were constructed on the basis of the content of the responses. A review was made of studies which were concerned with similar categorization problems. Zeligs and Hendrickson (1935) interviewed sixth grade children to determine the reasons they gave for discriminating between various races.

In Lambert and Klineberg's (1967) study, the children were asked a series of standard questions to determine their knowledge about and feelings for several foreign groups of people. The responses were then categorized according to content and evaluative dimensions. Both studies used categories into which many responses from the investigator's study could be placed., However, many responses could not be categorized using one or the other or a combination of their categories. The investigator then developed categories using relevant categories from the two studies cited, and created others to accommodate the remaining responses. Another qualified person, using the same procedures, developed a set of categories independently of the investigator. These two categorization systems were then compared and a final list of categories was adopted. This list, shown in Table 4.14, contained ten categories divided into a number of sub-categories.

Reliability of Coding Procedures

Using all categories, the investigator and two judges independently scored the responses of a randomly selected 20% of all subjects. The Arrington Formula (1932) was used to calculate the following levels of interjudge agreement:

investigator and first judge - 87.67%

investigator and second judge - 93.07%

first judge and second judge - 87.16%.

Table 4.14

Categories Used in the Analysis of Reasons Given for Choosing and Not Choosing a Friend or Group

Category Number	Category Title	Description of Sub-categories
1	Physical	Skin colour Other physical characteristics
2	Personality	Positive or negative personality characteristics General references such as 'nice' or 'good' and 'bad'
3	Material	Food, clothing, shelter, possessions
4	Language	
5	Habits and Customs	
6	Group Belonging	Membership of self, relatives, or friends Non-membership of self, relatives or friends
7	Geographical	Climate Distance Distribution of population
8	Geopolitical/ Historical	Country, town, place Past events
9	Familiar/ Unfamiliar	Awareness, or lack of Knowledge, or lack of
0	Non-categorizable	Irrelevant No response

The investigator then discussed the coding separately with each of the other judges. On the basis of changes resulting from these discussions, the following levels of agreement were reached:

investigator and first judge - 94.87%

investigator and second judge - 97.07%.

Using the experience gained from the initial coding, and from the discussions with the other judges, the investigator scored all responses.

Quantitative Aspects of Reasons for Group 1 and Group 2

The following comments concern the quantitative aspects of the responses by Group 1 and Group 2, and are shown in Tables 4.15 and 4.16.

The total number of reasons given was 687. Of these, slightly more were given by Group 1 (359) than Group 2 (328). The single most obvious difference in this total comes from the fewer responses from Group 2 when taking the role of a Canadian Indian. It appears that social contact may hinder the verbalizing of some children's conceptions of the point of view of a person from a culturally dissimilar group.

Subjects were able to give a slightly greater number of reasons for showing (355) than for not showing (332) affection. Perhaps it is easier to justify a positive choice than a negative one especially for Group 2.

According to Table 4.17, the number of responses

Table 4.15

Comparison of Numbers of Reasons Given for Showing and Not Showing Affection by Groups

	Number of Reasons for Showing Affection	Number of Reasons for Not Showing Affection	Totals
Group 1	183	176	359
Group 2	172	156	328
Totals	355	332	687

Table 4.16

Comparison of Numbers of Reasons Given for Choosing as Self and as Other by Groups

	Number of Reasons Given as Self	Number of Reasons Given as Canadian Indian	Totals
Group 1	170	189	359
Group 2	175	153	328
Totals	345	342	687

Table 4.17

Number of Responses by Age Levels Group 1 and Group 2

Number of reasons for:	6 Year Olds		8 Year Olds		10 Year Olds	
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 1	Group 2	Group 2	Group 2
Showing affection as self	24	28	33	31	29	35
Showing affection as Canadian Indian	19	24	42	24	36	30
Not showing affection as self	23	26	27	25	34	30
Not showing affection as Canadian Indian	24	21	35	28	33	26
Totals	90	99	137	108	142	121

increases with age for both Group 1 (90, 137, 142), and for Group 2 (99, 108, 121), although as noted, Group 2 gave fewer total responses than did Group 1. The 8 year olds in Group 1 seemed particularly adept at responding as a Canadian Indian (42, 35) when compared to Group 2 8 year olds as a Canadian Indian (24, 28), and also when compared to other Group 1 age levels as a Canadian Indian (19, 24 at 6 years, 36, 33 at 10 years).

Question 5(a)

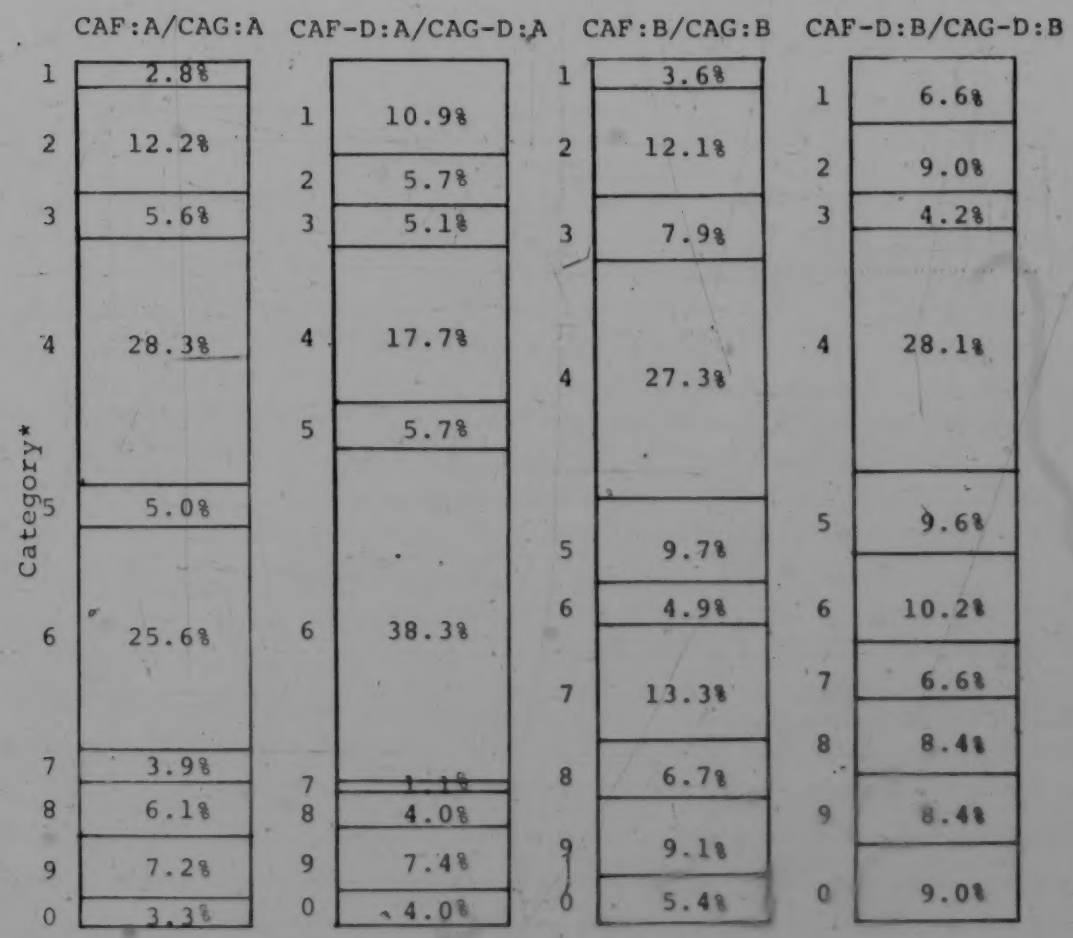
Is there a difference in the reasons Canadian children give for showing or not showing affection toward culturally dissimilar groups from their own point of view and when taking the point of view of others?

Observations

Reasons as Self and Other For and Against Showing Affection

Figure 4.7 graphically presents the percentages of reasons given in the four situations. Comparisons can be made in reasons for and reasons against choosing group, and also between reasons from the subject's point of view and from a Canadian Indian's point to view.

Category 4, Language, has the greatest combined total of responses. It was used for over 25% of the reasons subjects chose and did not choose for themselves, and when subjects were giving reasons as Canadian Indians



*Categories:
1-Physical
2-Personality
3-Material
4-Language
5-Habits & Customs
6-Group Belonging
7-Geographical
8-Geopolitical/Historical
9-Familiar/Unfamiliar
0-Non-categorizable

Figure 7

Categorization of Reasons Given by All Subjects in Both Groups by Tasks

for not choosing a group. Only when subjects were giving reasons for choosing as a Canadian Indian was it below 25% at 17.7%.

Category 6, Group Belonging, was used both as self and as Canadian Indian to a much greater extent giving reasons for a choice (25.6% and 38.3%) than against a choice (4.9% and 10.2%). There was greater usage of this category as a Canadian Indian (38.3% and 10.2%) than as self (25.6% and 4.9%). This category, Group Belonging, was second to language in the overall total usage. Almost 40% of choices for a friend or for a group to belong to as a Canadian Indian were attributed to this Group Belonging category.

Both as self and as the Canadian Indian, Category 5, Habits and Customs, was used more in giving reasons against a choice than for a choice.

Category 2, Personality, was used more often by subjects as themselves (12.2% and 12.1%) than as Canadian Indians (5.7% and 9.0%). Thus subjects used personality characteristics as a reason more often than they thought Canadian Indians would do so (24.3% to 14.7%).

Category 1, Physical (including colour and other physical characteristics) was used more often when choosing as a Canadian Indian (10.9% and 6.6%) than as self (2.8% and 3.6%). That is, subjects thought the Canadian Indian would base his choice on physical

characteristics to a greater extent than they themselves gave this as a reason for their choice (17.5% to 6.4%).

Category 7, Geographical, was used more often as a reason against choosing (13.3% and 6.6%) than for choosing (3.9% and 1.1%). Thus a subject was considerably more likely to reply 'I (he) wouldn't pick that group because we (they) live so far apart' as he was to answer 'I (he) would like them because they live around here'.

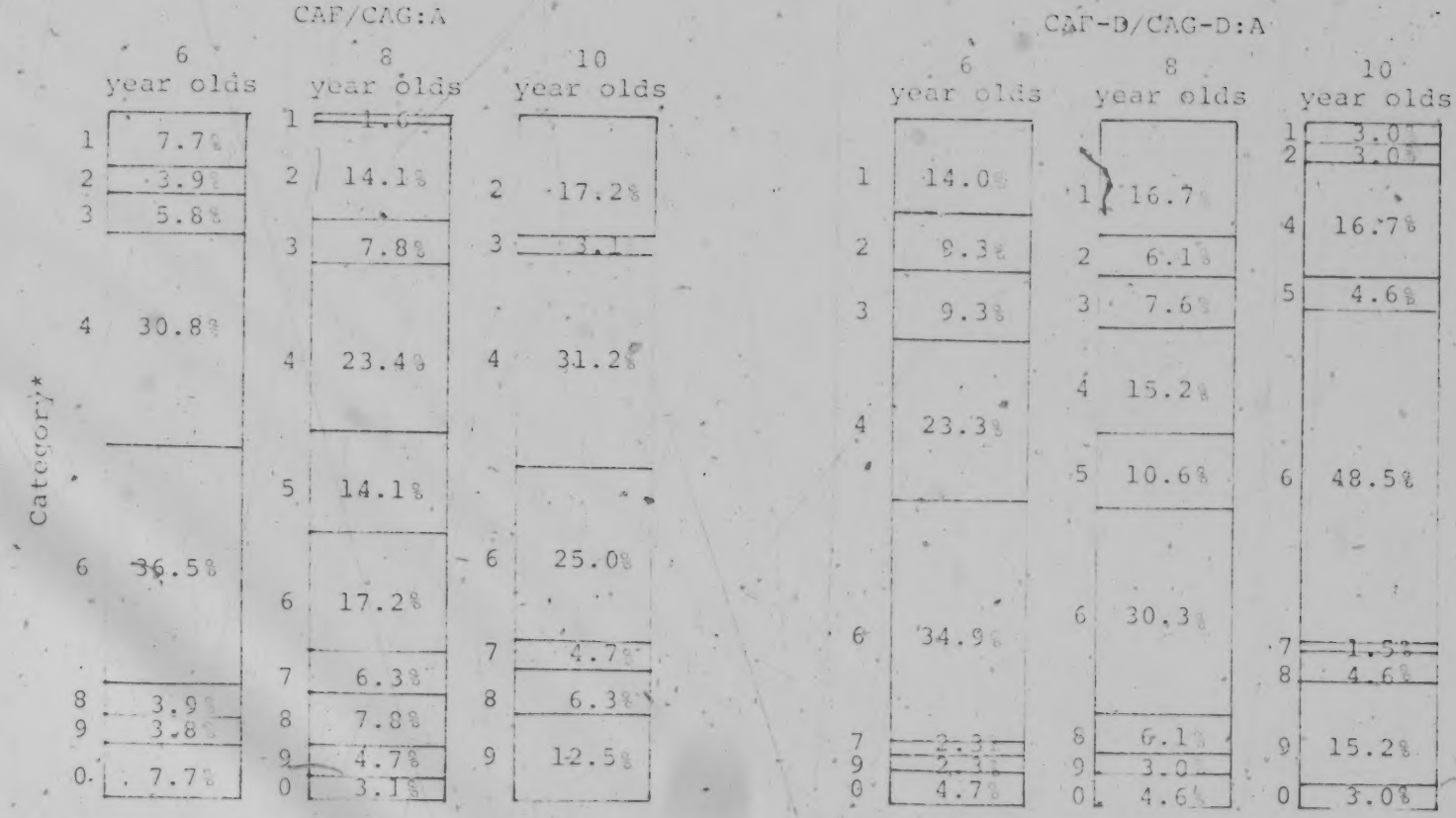
Question 5(b)

Is age or amount of social contact with culturally dissimilar people related to the reasons Canadian children give for showing or not showing affection toward culturally dissimilar groups from their own point of view and when taking the point of view of others?

Reasons by Ages for Showing Affection from the Point of View of Self and Other

Figure 4.8 shows reasons given for showing affection by subjects as self and as a Canadian Indian for the three age levels of this study.

For 6 year old subjects, Category 6, Group Belonging, was most often given as a reason for showing affection as self (36.5%) and also as a Canadian Indian (34.9%), followed by Category 4, Language, both as self (30.8%) and as another (23.3%). Thus from the subjects' own points of view, these two categories accounted for



*Categories:
1-Physical
2-Personality
3-Material
4-Language
5-Habits & Customs
6-Group Belonging
7-Geographical
8-Geopolitical/Historical
9-Familiar/Unfamiliar
0-Non-categorizable

Figure 4.8
Categorization of Reasons Given for Showing Affection by Age Levels as Self and as Canadian Indian

67.3% of the reasons while as Canadian Indian, these same two categories accounted for 58.2%.

As themselves, the 6 year olds distributed their remaining reasons throughout the categories, with no responses in Categories 5 or 7. As Canadian Indians, Category 1, Physical, accounted for 14% of the remaining responses, while Categories 5 and 8 were not used.

Both 8 and 10 year old subjects as self used Language most often (23.4% and 31.2%), following in frequency by Group Belonging (17.2% and 25.0%). As Canadian Indians, both 8 and 10 year olds used Category 6, Group Belonging, considerably more often (30.3% and 48.5%) than any other category. This was followed by Language (16.7%) for 10 year olds, and by Categories 1 and 4 for 8 year olds (16.7% and 15.2%).

Category 9, Familiar/Unfamiliar, was used increasingly more often with age both as self and other.

Category 1 was used more by children as Canadian Indians (14.0%, 16.7%, 3.0%) than as themselves (7.7%, 1.6%, 0%). Thus again subjects feel that the Canadian Indian would base his choices more often on physical characteristics than they do themselves.

Category 2, Personality, became increasingly more important with age for self, and increasingly less important with age for the child as a Canadian Indian.

Category 6, Group Belonging, accounted for

greater usage as Canadian Indian (113.7% all age total) than as self (78.7% all age total).

Category 4, Language, was more important when giving reasons as self (85.4% all age total) than as Canadian Indian (55.2% all age total).

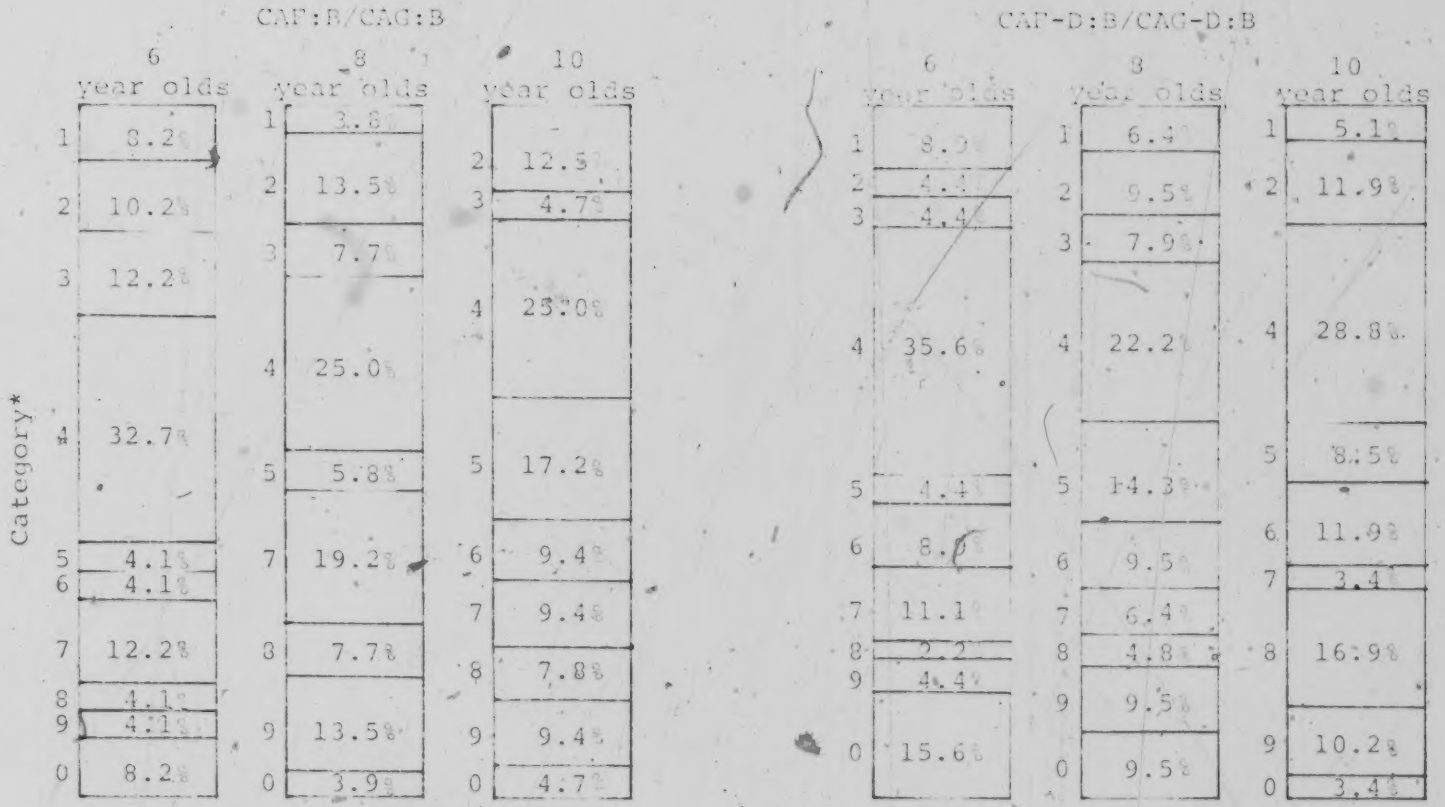
Reasons by Ages for Not Showing Affection from the Point of View of Self and Other

Figure 4.9 shows reasons given for not choosing a group for friends or as a group to belong to. Reasons are categorized as in the previous discussion and may be examined for age differences or for differences when choosing as self and as a Canadian Indian.

Category 4, Language, was the most frequently used category by all ages, especially the 6 year olds, as self and as the other. Language was used slightly more by children as Canadian Indian (35.6%, 22.2%, 28.8%) than as self (32.7%, 25.0%, 25.0%), a pattern that was even more evident of this category when children gave reasons for showing affection.

Language, presumably difference of language, was thus the main reason given by 6 year olds for not showing affection to a group. Category 7, Geographical, was the reason of next greatest frequency for self and Canadian Indian, along with Category 3, Material, as self. These, however, were much less often used than Language.

For 8 year olds, in addition to Language,



*Categories: 1-Physical, 2-Personality, 3-Material, 4-Language, 5-Habits & Customs, 6-Group Belonging, 7-Geographical, 8-Geopolitical/Historical, 9-Familiar/Unfamiliar, 0-Non-categorizable

Figure 4.9

Categorization of Reasons Given for Not Showing Affection by Age Levels as Self and as Canadian Indian

Categories 2, 7, and 9 appeared important as self, while Category 5, Customs and Habits, was next in importance to Language for 8 year olds as Canadian Indians.

In addition to Language, Categories 2 and 5 were frequently used by 10 year olds as self; and as the Canadian Indian, Category 8 seemed important for 10 year olds.

It can be seen that, other than Language, no consistent usage across age levels occurred.

Category 1, Physical, was used less with increasing age as self (8.2%, 3.8%, 0%), and as Canadian Indian (8.9%, 6.4%, 5.1%). It was used more often by subjects as Canadian Indians (20.4%) than as themselves (12.0%), a pattern also true when showing affection.

On the other hand, Category 2, Personality, was used more as self than as the other at all three age levels (10.2% to 4.4% at 6 years, 13.5% to 0.5% at 8 years, and 13.5% to 11.9% at 10 years).

Category 7 follows the same pattern as Category 2 (12.2% to 11.1% at 6 years, 19.2% to 6.4% at 8 years, 9.4% to 3.4% at 10 years). The extensive usage (19.2%) of this Category by 8 year olds as themselves should be noted.

Also noteworthy is the usage of Category 8, Geopolitical/Historical, by 10 year olds as Canadian Indians. Although usage of this category does increase

with age both as self (4.1%, 7.7%, 9.4%) and as other (2.2%, 4.8%, 16.9%), this last percentage is considerably greater than might be expected.

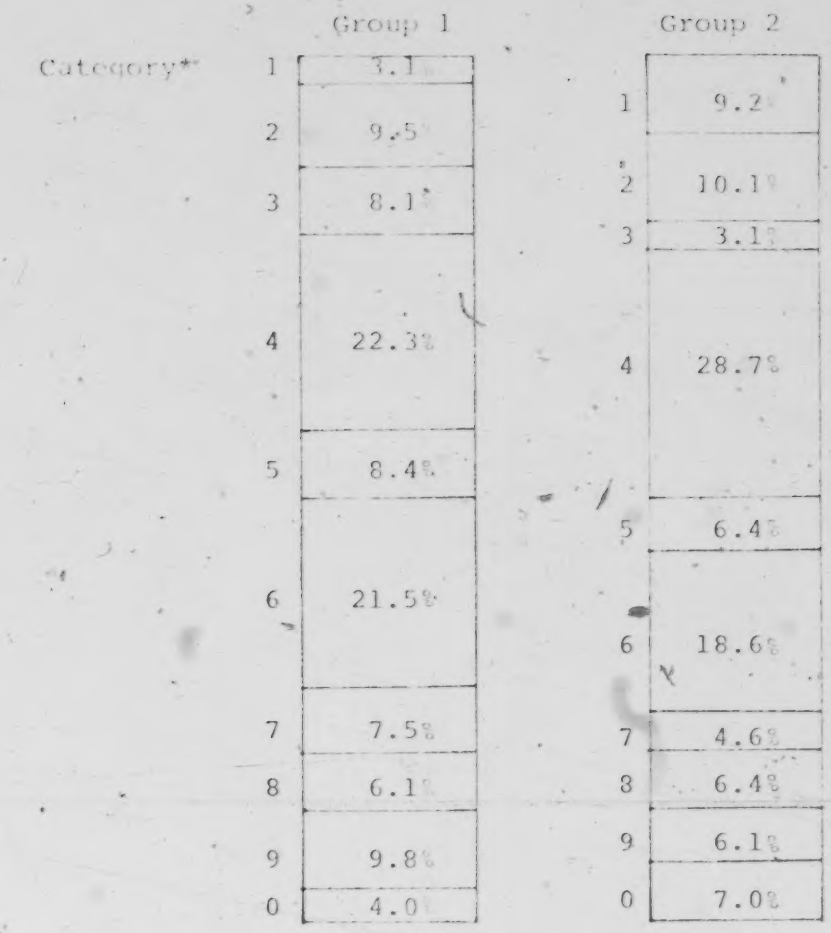
Category 6, Group Belonging, was used remarkably less for not showing affection that it was for showing affection. Thus a subject was far more likely to say he had chosen a group as his friend because he (or the Canadian Indian) was one, or had family members or friends who belonged there, than he was to say he would not choose a group because his family and friends did not belong to it.

An Overview of Category Usage According to Extent of Social Contact with Culturally Dissimilar People

Because of the differing amounts of social contact with Canadian Indians between Group 1 and Group 2, a difference in reasons given by these groups for their choices of groups to whom they showed or did not show affection might be expected.

Figure 4.10 summarizes differences in reasons given by Group 1 and Group 2. Most frequently used by both groups was Category 4, Language, with greater usage by Group 2 than Group 1. Category 6, Group Belonging, was the second most frequently used one by both groups with slightly greater usage by Group 1.

It is especially noteworthy that Group 2 used Category 1, Physical, three times as often as did Group 1.



*Categories:
1-Physical
2-Personality
3-Material
4-Language
5-Habits & Customs
6-Group Belonging
7-Geographical
8-Geopolitical/Historical
9-Familiar/Unfamiliar
0-Non-categorizable

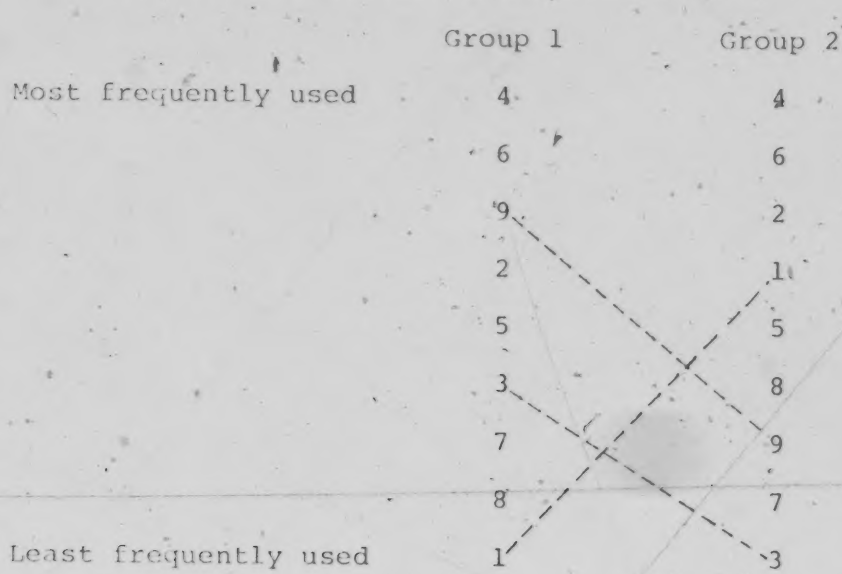
Figure 4.10

An Overview of Categories Used for Showing and Not Showing Affection as Self and as Canadian Indian According to Extent of Social Contact with Canadian Indians

Social contact seems to lead to a greater awareness of physical attributes especially where differences are visible.

Category 3, Material, was used more frequently by Group 1 than Group 2.

Little difference can be detected in the remaining categories when percentages are consulted. Rank ordering of the frequency of category usage for each group also provides an interesting overview of the same data:



Category 1 shows a great difference between Group 1 and Group 2 in rank ordering, as it did when considering percentages. The difference noted in Category 3 usage is also apparent here. Category 9, Familiar/Unfamiliar, is more important in the choices of Group 1 than of Group 2.

Thus general similarities are seen between Group 1

and Group 2 usage of categories of reasons while some differences are evident.

Comparison Between Groups of Reasons Given for Showing Affection and Not Showing Affection as Self and as Other

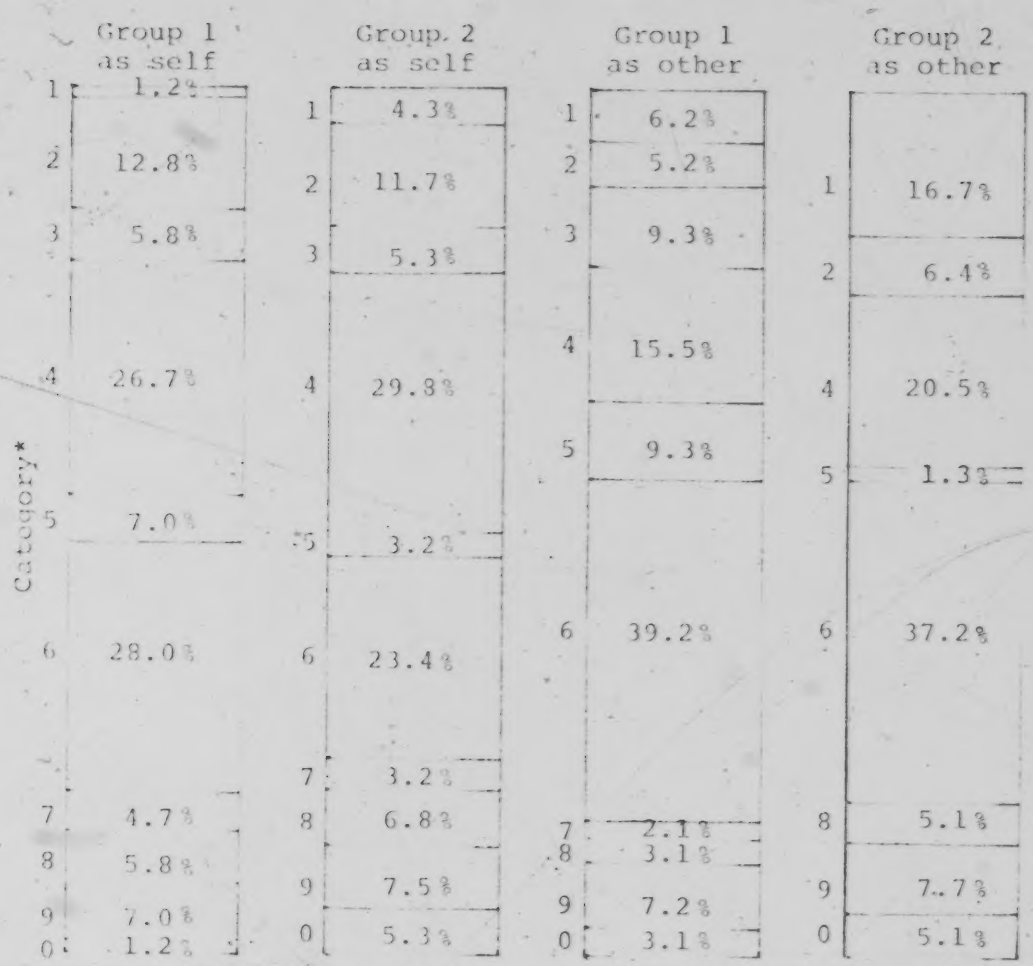
When the Reasons are more precisely subdivided, the patterns shown in Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12 can be examined.

In the reasons for showing affection, Figure 4.11, the predominance of Categories 4 and 6 is easily noted. Category 4 was more important to both groups when choosing as self rather than as Canadian Indian; and conversely, Category 6 was less important to both groups as self than as other.

Category 1 was more important when choosing as the Canadian Indian than as the self, while Categories 2 7, and 8 are used more often by the subjects as themselves than as the Canadian Indian; and these patterns are true for both Group 1 and Group 2.

Differences between the groups' reasons for showing affection are less obvious. Group 2 used Physical more often than did Group 1. Group 1 used Category 5 more often than did Group 1.

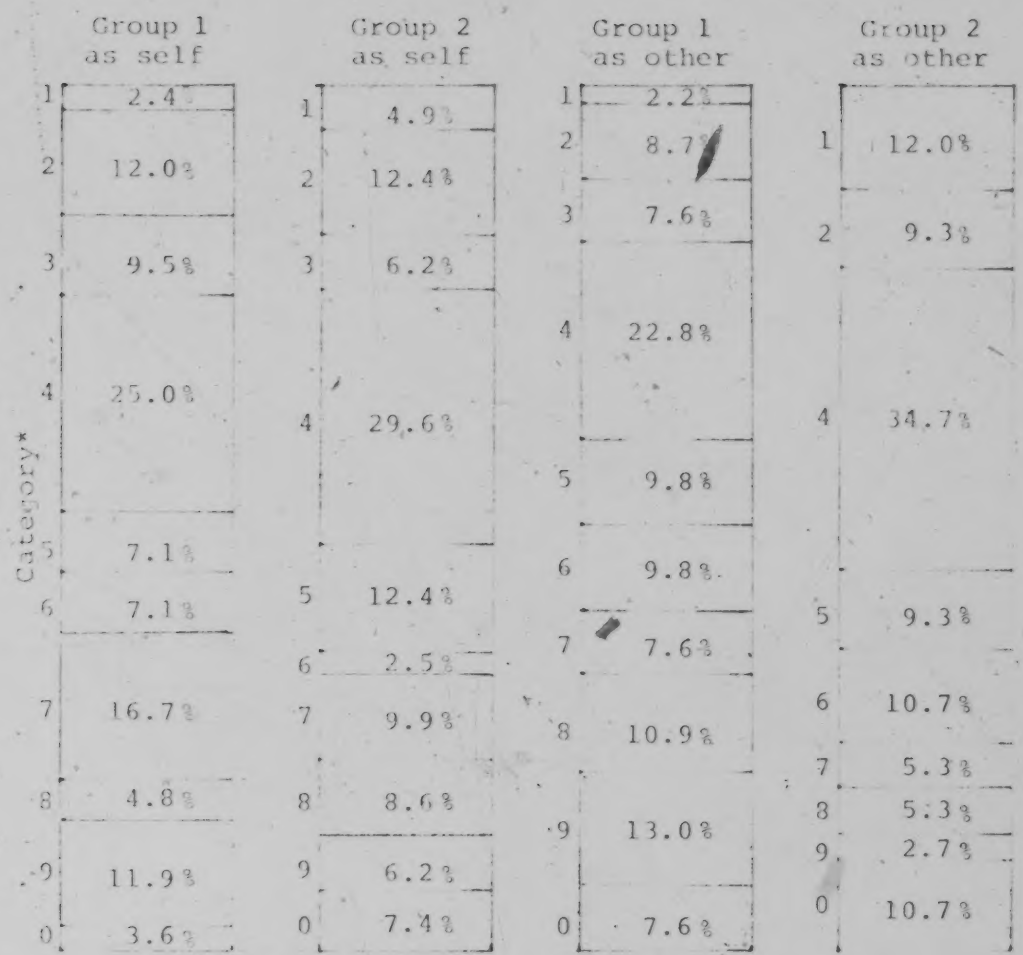
Figure 4.12 shows the reasons for not showing affection by groups as self and other. This figure indicates that Language again predominates to a greater



*Categories:
1-Physical
2-Personality
3-Material
4-Language
5-Habits & Customs
6-Group Belonging
7-Geographical
8-Geopolitical/Historical
9-Familiar/Unfamiliar
0-Non-categorizable

Figure 4.11

Categorization of Reasons Given for Showing Affection as Self and as Canadian Indian by Group 1 and Group 2



*Categories:
1-Physical
2-Personality
3-Material
4-Language
5-Habits & Customs
6-Group Belonging
7-Geographical
8-Geopolitical/Historical
9-Familiar/Unfamiliar
0-Non-categorizable

Figure 4.12

Categorization of Reasons Given for Not Showing Affection as Self and as Canadian Indian by Group 1 and Group 2

extent for Group 2 than for Group 1. Category 1 again assumes more importance for Group 2 than for Group 1, as it did for reasons when showing affection. Category 9 is considerably more salient for Group 1 than Group 2.

Category 7 is again used more when choosing for self than for other, and is used in all cases to a greater extent for not showing affection than it had been used for showing affection.

Category 6, although not used here to nearly as great an extent as for showing affection, is again assigned to the Canadian Indian more often than to the subject himself.

Similar general patterns then are seen here as were noted in the overview in Figure 4.10.

Observations About Teacher and Curriculum Influences on Group 1 and Group 2

If attitudes toward or willingness to show reciprocity toward Canadian Indians were found to be markedly different between Group 1 and Group 2, it was considered important to determine whether sociological influences might be involved, and whether they could be determined. This objective was considered a complete study in itself. However, some measures, although much more incomplete than was desired, were taken. The differences in the newspaper analysis and in the impressions of the police departments reported earlier indicated the possibility

of more negative impressions of the Canadian Indians in Community 2.

Ethnocentrism questionnaire. The twelve point ethnocentric questionnaire (page 236), which was given to the thirteen teachers in each community who taught any of the pupils in this study, indicated a higher level of ethnocentrism among the teachers in Community 2. A t-test comparing the mean ethnocentrism scores of the teachers from Community 1 (mean 1.85) and Community 2 (mean 3.00) indicated a significant difference ($t = 2.28$; $df = 24$; $p < .05$). Although this result is statistically significant, further in depth investigation into the relationship between the teachers' attitudes and their subjects' attitudes towards other cultural groups would be necessary. This result therefore may contribute to the area under investigation by raising more questions rather than by providing definite answers.

Social Studies curriculum questionnaire. A survey of the topics taught for Social Studies did not reveal any noteworthy differences in curriculum content regarding culturally dissimilar peoples between Group 1 and Group 2. The only major difference in learning experiences between the two groups was that one of the teachers from Community 2 had taken her Grade 1 class on a field trip to the Indian reserve. The interviewer briefly discussed the

trip with six of the participating students. The children's comments were approximately evenly divided between positive and negative reactions.

It would seem that the social experiences of the children from Community 2 are different from those of children from Community 1 both in direct contact with Indians, and perhaps indirectly with the Canadian Indians through communication within their own cultural groups. No special attempt to include school programs in cultural understanding was provided in Community 2.

Semantic Differential

A semantic differential (page 240) was administered to provide an indication of the subjects' attitudes toward the Canadian Indians. For comparisons, a rating on the group which each subject chose as most like himself was also included. The mean scores for each age level of Group 1 and Group 2 are presented in Table 4.18. This questionnaire did not indicate a more negative score toward Indians by Group 2 subjects as might be expected. However, all groups rated the Indian more negatively than they rated the group most like themselves.

SUMMARY

This chapter presented a brief background to each major research question, an analysis of the data for each sub-question, and observations. These areas were related

Table 4.18

Mean Scores of Semantic Differential Ratings of Canadian Indians and Groups Perceived as Most Like the Subjects

Group	Age	Canadian Indians	Most Like Group
1	6	2.50	3.30
	8	2.83	2.91
	10	2.46	3.32
2	6	2.86	3.35
	8	2.98	3.39
	10	2.83	3.31

Note: Most positive possible rating was 5.00.

to the main purpose of the study. In addition, some comments about the social environment of the subjects were included. A summary of the findings, conclusions from the research questions, implications of this study, and recommendations for further research will be discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

SUMMARY

This study was based on a model of a dynamic world society in which the individual is seen as a member of one or more of many cultures which are in constant interaction. Individuals seem to derive satisfaction from the development of a sense of belonging to particular cultures. However, this same development may create, for some individuals, difficulties in understanding or in appreciating the thoughts, feelings, and actions of those who have different cultural patterns.

Many social studies curricula include the promotion of intercultural understanding as a major objective. Decisions regarding the selection of instructional strategies and materials should be based on the learner's abilities and previous learning. This study attempted to determine some of the cognitive and affective patterns in the development in Canadian children of intercultural understanding, and factors which may be related to this development. A rationale for intercultural education, the objectives of which reflect a movement outward from individual to broad societal awareness and understanding,

corresponded to the orientation of this study.

The sample of six, eight, and ten year old children was drawn equally from two communities; one which had no or limited social contact with native Canadian Indians, and the other which had regular social contact with this culturally dissimilar people.

The research questions and instrumentation followed this 'decentering' pattern in both a psychological and a socio-cultural sense. During an interview, questions were asked in an attempt to determine the perceptions which subjects had of themselves. In particular, any sense of awareness of membership in cultural groups was sought. Both open responses and structured responses were analyzed.

Moving outward from the individual, the subjects' perceptions of their own and other cultural groups in Canada were obtained by questioning their choices of friends and cultural groups to belong to. In order to bring the situation to a more concrete level, the children used wooden dolls representing different cultural groups to indicate their decisions. Mean ratings of affection for the different cultural groups were calculated and compared.

The ability to take the viewpoint of another was considered important to cultural understanding. The degree to which subjects showed reciprocity of thoughts and feelings toward other cultural groups was used as a

measure of their cultural understanding. By asking each subject to take the role of a Canadian Indian in selecting a friend or group, indications of reciprocity were determined. More complex measures of reciprocity were collected by confronting each subject with two apparently conflicting choices, his own and that of the Indian. When asked whose choice was more right and which group was nicer or smarter, the subject's ability to reach higher level reciprocity and to maintain it was determined. Qualitative differences in the reciprocity shown by the subjects were differentiated using Selman's (Selman and Byrne, 1974) levels of role taking ability.

An attempt was made to determine whether reciprocity toward other cultural groups is related to the ability for social decentration. Three tasks which did not involve culturally different people, but which measured the subjects' ability for social decentration, were administered. Levels of social decentration were assigned to indicate the qualitative differences in responses. These social decentration levels were compared to the levels of reciprocity obtained from the cultural understanding tasks.

Finally, reasons for each subject's choice of friends or groups, both as self and when taking the role of the Indian, were categorized and compared. It was hoped that influences which might affect the children's

relations with other cultural groups could be identified.

In the analyses, the effects of age and social contact with Canadian Indians on the responses were considered.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The summary of the findings presented in this section are primarily in terms of the research questions which were posed. Conclusions are stated for each research question and in a general summary form.

Research Question One

How do Canadian children perceive themselves?

Question 1(a)

Do Canadian children perceive themselves as members of social or cultural groups?

Findings

In answer to the question "What are you?" asked up to four times, 152 responses were given. These could be categorized to form nine distinct groups. Over 30% of the total responses referred to the subjects' sex groups. The next most common categories were 'person' and 'human being', which had approximately 18% and 9% respectively of the total usage. 'Student', 'child', and 'family membership' followed but with considerably fewer responses. 'Religion', 'national/regional', and 'race'

were infrequently mentioned.

Conclusions

It would appear that Canadian children do perceive themselves as members of socio-cultural groups. If their responses indicated their level of awareness of group membership, few subjects seemed to be highly aware of their membership in any of the Canadian cultural groups used as stimuli in this study, or of other large, more remote socio-cultural groups. Small groups such as the family, or self descriptions such as their sex or student role, would appear to be of greater importance to children at these ages. However, rather large percentages of references were to the broad categories 'person' and 'human being', and there was a relative lack of use of linguistic, ethnic, religious, racial, political, or geographical terms.

Question 1(b)

Is there an age group difference in Canadian children's self perceptions as members of social or cultural groups?

Findings

There was a slight increase with age in the number of responses to the question "What are you?". 'Sex' was the most used category at all age levels. The older children made more references to the terms 'student' and

'human being', but fewer to their sex, 'child', or 'person'. No noteworthy difference with age was shown in the frequency of terms indicating awareness of membership in more remote, decentered, socio-cultural groups.

Conclusions

The 6, 8, and 10 year old children used basically the same categories of responses in describing themselves. Some variations in frequency of responses within age levels might indicate the degree of importance attached to particular self descriptions. Increased reference with age to the term 'student', and decreased use of the term 'child', may reflect different emphasis at various ages in the socialization of the subjects. The lack of an increase with age in references to terms indicating cultural group membership may show a lack of emphasis on this membership.

Question 1(c)

What relationships, if any, exist between Canadian children's group identification, and their cultural background and principal language usage?

Findings

More than 75% of the children had non-English speaking cultural origins, but 80% of all subjects indicated most similarity with the English Canadian cultural group. Although almost half of the sample was of

German ancestral origin, only one of these subjects indicated most similarity with the German Canadian group.

Conclusions

The children seemed to use their principal language usage patterns to a much greater extent than their ancestral cultural origin as the basis of their group identification. This trend appears to be more pronounced among children of German and British Isles origin and less evident among children of Ukrainian ancestral origin. This trend may indicate again the lack of stress placed by most subjects' own cultural reference groups on the development of an awareness of a cultural identity.

Research Question Two

How do Canadian children perceive different cultural groups within Canada?

Question 2(a)

For which cultural groups in Canada do Canadian children show affection?

Findings

The subjects indicated most affection for the English Canadian group followed by their cultural origin group. Affection was not shown for the French Canadian, Canadian Indian, or the Canadian Eskimo groups, although indications of very strong dislike were not evident. The

mean rating for the French Canadian group was closer to that of the Indian or Eskimo group than to the mean of the English Canadian or the subject's own cultural group.

Conclusions

Canadian children aged 6 to 10 have already developed feelings of affection or disliking for particular cultural groups within Canada. Affection for cultural groups would seem to be related to the degree of similarity which the children perceive between themselves and these groups. Difference of language usage would appear to be important in relation to a lack of affection toward cultural groups. These children seemed to show most dislike for cultural groups which differ not only in language usage but also in physical characteristics.

Question 2(b)

Is there an age group difference among Canadian children in their degree of affection for different cultural groups?

Findings

There was a significant difference between the 6 and 10 year levels in the degree of affection shown toward different cultural groups. As age increased, a general trend toward greater affection for different cultural groups was indicated. Two mean score ratings appear to be noteworthy. The 6 year subjects showed considerable

disliking for the Canadian Indian group, while the 8 year subjects rated the French Canadians more negatively than did other age levels.

Conclusions

The degree of affection shown by Canadian children for different cultural groups within Canada seemed to increase with a similar increase in age. Some noticeable examples of disaffection within this general trend appeared. The 6 year olds tended to dislike a group, the Canadian Indian, which is linguistically and racially different from themselves, considerably more than did older children. The 8 year olds seemed to reflect a similar greater dislike than other age levels for a group, the French Canadian, which has different linguistic patterns from themselves.

Question 2(c)

To what degree is this affection for different cultural groups in Canada related to the extent of social contact which Canadian children have with culturally dissimilar groups?

Findings

The analyses of variance did not indicate a significant difference in the mean score ratings of affection for different cultural groups in general between children who had no or limited contact with Canadian Indians and

children who had regular social contact with Canadian Indians. Some trends with particular reference to the Canadian Indians, however, are noteworthy. The 6 and 8 year old children who had social contact with the Canadian Indians indicated considerably more disliking for the Canadian Indian group than did children at these ages who had no or limited social contact with Indians. This trend was reversed at the 10 year level, where social contact with Indians would appear to be a positive influence on the showing of affection to these people.

Conclusions

Social contact with a culturally dissimilar group seems to be related to the degree of affection shown to that group when children of similar age levels are compared. Younger children, the 6 and 8 year olds, seem to be negatively influenced by social contact with a culturally dissimilar people, while 10 year olds seem to be positively influenced by this contact.

Research Question Three

How does Canadian children's reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar groups develop?

Question 3(a)

Is there an age group difference in reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar groups for:

(i) children who have infrequent or no social

contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

(ii) children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group?

Findings

On the tasks which differentiated between level 0 and level 1 reciprocity, a maximum of seven 6 year old children from each of Group 1 and Group 2 displayed reciprocity toward the Canadian Indian, while all Group 1 and Group 2 subjects at the 8 and 10 year levels showed reciprocity on these tasks. On tasks which measured level 2 and level 3 reciprocity, only one 6 year old indicated reciprocity at level 2 and none did so at level 3. Eight 8 year olds displayed level 2 reciprocity and five reached level 3. The number of 8 year olds at each of the higher levels was approximately equally distributed between Group 1 and Group 2 subjects. Five 10 year olds remained at level 1, one reached level 2, and the remainder attained level 3 reciprocity. Of these fourteen who displayed reciprocity at level 3, eight were from Group 1 and six were Group 2 subjects.

Conclusions

For children who have limited or no social contact and children who have regular social contact with culturally dissimilar people, there is a general trend toward an increase with age in reciprocity shown toward

the culturally dissimilar people. Some younger children do not show reciprocity to these people even on the lowest plane; a considerable number of the older children are able to show reciprocity from the viewpoint of a disinterested third party, the highest level possible in this study. However between these two extremes, the age trend is not without exception.

Question 3(b)

Is there a difference within age groups between Canadian children who have infrequent or no social contact with a culturally dissimilar group and Canadian children who have frequent social contact with a culturally dissimilar group in their reciprocity toward this group?

Findings

On tasks measuring reciprocity at level 0 and level 1, there was little difference in the frequency with which reciprocity was shown by Group 1 and Group 2 subjects at the 6 and 8 year levels. There was a difference between Group 1 and Group 2 subjects at the 10 year level. The 10 year old subjects who had no or limited social contact with the Canadian Indians showed reciprocity very slightly more often than did the 10 year olds who had regular social contact with the Indians.

Conclusions

Extent of social contact with a culturally dissimilar people would appear to have little influence at any age level in this study on the showing of reciprocity toward these people. A difference between the two groups in the reciprocity shown may have its beginning at age 10. Group 2 - 10 year olds are interesting because, although they indicate they like Indians more than do Group 1 subjects at this age, they may show reciprocity toward Indians slightly less than do 10 year old Group 1 subjects.

Additional Findings: The Stability of Reciprocity

The stability of reciprocity was tested only on those children who showed level 3 reciprocity. Four of these nineteen subjects maintained the level 3 position, three of whom were children who had no or limited social contact with the Canadian Indians.

Conclusion

Reciprocity toward culturally dissimilar people would not seem to have marked stability at the age of ten. It may be that children who do not have social contact with the cultural group involved are more able to maintain reciprocity or less influenced by the affective aspects of the questioning used in determining if reciprocity was maintained.

Additional Findings: The Use of Reciprocity When Choosing Friends or Groups as the Canadian Indian

The same general increase with age in affection for all cultural groups was evident when the subjects, taking the role of the Canadian Indian, ranked the cultural groups as friends or groups to belong to. Group 1 - 10 year old subjects and Group 2 - 6 year old subjects, compared to the other subjects, showed more affection for the English Canadian when taking the role of the Canadian Indian, than they had shown for the Canadian Indian when they rated the groups as themselves.

Conclusions

Older children showed greater affection than younger children for different cultural groups when role taking. This paralleled the affection shown when they were choosing for themselves. Younger children who have regular social contact with dissimilar people, and older children who have limited or no contact with these people, appear to reciprocate less when taking the role of a culturally dissimilar person than they did as themselves.

Research Question Four

Is social decentration related to the development of reciprocity toward other cultural groups?

Question 4(a)

Is there a difference in reciprocity shown toward

other cultural groups between children who demonstrate a high level of social decentration and children who demonstrate a low level of social decentration?

Findings

Scores from 0 through 3 were assigned to each subject for both social decentration, and cultural understanding as indicated by the level of reciprocity attained by each subject. A correlation of .57 ($p < .01$) was found between reciprocity shown and social decentration ability.

Conclusion

A significant relationship exists between the ability for social decentration and the showing of reciprocity towards culturally dissimilar people.

Question 4(b)

Is the development of social decentration a necessary condition for reciprocity toward other cultural groups?

Findings

To test whether social decentration is necessary for an equivalent level of cultural understanding, that is, reciprocity, two by two tables were constructed. The frequency of scores above and below 3 on reciprocity, and above and below level 3 on social decentration, were plotted. Of the nineteen subjects who displayed level 3

reciprocity, only nine had scored at level 3 on the social decentration tasks. The same scores were plotted to test whether social decentration at level 1 was necessary for level 1 reciprocity. Of the fifty-six subjects who displayed reciprocity at level 1 or higher, four had not scored at least at level 1 on social decentration. Thus fourteen of one hundred twenty cases did not require social decentration as a necessary condition for reciprocity toward a culturally dissimilar group.

Conclusion

According to the tasks used in this study, it would not appear that the development of social decentration skills is a necessary prerequisite for a similar level of development in the ability to show reciprocity or cultural understanding towards other cultural groups.

Research Question Five

Can influences which may affect Canadian children's relations with different cultural groups be identified and mapped?

Question 5(a)

Is there a difference in the reasons Canadian children give for showing or not showing affection toward culturally dissimilar groups from their own point of view and when taking the point of view of others?

Findings

Overall. Language was the category which accounted for the greatest combined total of responses, with Group Belonging second in importance. No other category registered consistently high usage.

As self and as other. Language was used more overall by subjects as themselves than as Canadian Indians, as were Personality and Geographical reasons. Group Belonging and Physical were used more as other than as self.

For showing and for not showing affection. The category Language was given as a reason for not showing affection more often than for showing affection. Notably lower was Language usage as a reason for showing affection by subjects as Canadian Indians. Group Belonging was used remarkably more for showing than for not showing affection; especially high usage was registered by subjects as Canadian Indians for showing affection. Habits and Customs, and Geographical categories were more often used for not showing than for showing affection.

Conclusions

It would seem that subjects are more apt to feel antipathy for another because of his difference in language, than a closeness because of similarity of language. The subjects expected Canadian Indians to follow this pattern as well, but to be considerably less likely to

show affection because of language. On the basis of their Group Belonging choices, subjects seemed to feel that membership in this culturally dissimilar group was a stronger positive bond for Indians than was the membership which subjects felt in their own group.

Language and Group Belonging had greater combined usage by subjects as Canadian Indians than as themselves. However, it would appear from the overall category usage that subjects differentiate to the same extent in interpreting others' choices as in stating their own.

Although the differences in physical appearance are no doubt apparent to the subjects, they seldom used this category as a reason for their choices, except at the 6 year level. However they attributed this reason to the Canadian Indian as relatively important at all age levels. Subjects were more apt to give personality characteristics as reasons for their own choices than as reasons for the Canadian Indians' choices.

These differences indicate that, although almost all subjects reciprocated when asked who the Canadian Indian would choose as a friend/group, it appears to be more difficult for them to take the other's point of view when giving reasons for his choices.

Question 5(b)

Is age or amount of social contact with culturally dissimilar people related to the reasons Canadian

children give for showing or not showing affection toward culturally dissimilar groups from their own point of view and when taking the point of view of others?

Findings

Overall. Language and Group Belonging accounted for the greatest usage at all ages for both Group 1 and Group 2.

By age levels. The number of reasons given increased with age for both groups. The most used categories, in order of frequency of usage were: by 6 year olds, Language and Group Belonging, with Physical a considerably less used third; by 8 year olds, Language, Group Belonging, Habits and Customs, and Personality; and by 10 year olds, Language, Group Belonging, Familiar/Unfamiliar, and Personality. Language was used most by 6 and least by 8 year olds. Group Belonging was used more often by 8 than by 6 or 10 year olds. The greatest single usage of any category was of Group Belonging by 10 year olds as Canadian Indians for showing affection. The category Customs and Habits was used infrequently by 6 year olds, and most often by 8 year olds.

Physical and Material categories became less important with age, while Familiar/Unfamiliar, and Geopolitical/Historical became more important with age.

Personality became increasingly more important with age as self but increasingly less important with age as other.

By amount of social contact - Group 1 compared to Group 2. More reasons were given by Group 1 than by Group 2. Especially noticeable were, when taking the role of the Canadian Indian, the fewer responses given by Group 2 subjects and the greater number by Group 1. Language was used more often by Group 2 than by Group 1, and the reverse was true of Group Belonging. Group 2's usage of Physical was considerably greater than Group 1's, while Material and Geographical were given as reasons more by Group 1 than Group 2. Familiar/Unfamiliar was used more by Group 1, especially by these 10 year olds. Personality, although almost equally used overall by each group, was given as a reason considerably more by 10 year olds of Group 2.

Conclusions

As might be expected, the older children are, the more able or willing they are to give reasons for their choices. There is more differentiation of reasons by age. Social contact with a culturally dissimilar group seems to have an inverse relation on the ability or willingness to give reasons for that group's choices—the more contact, the fewer reasons given, and vice versa. Perhaps knowing

culturally different people on a personal basis makes one more reluctant or unable to attribute reasons to them, while knowing in an uninvolved way that a person is different gives one more freedom to suggest reasons.

A greater extent of social contact seems to make subjects more aware of language and physical characteristics, that is, of readily apparent ones, and less aware of most other aspects.

Semantic Differential

Both Group 1 and Group 2 were more negative toward Canadian Indians than toward the cultural group most like themselves. Contrary to expectations, Group 2 was slightly more positive both to Canadian Indians and to the group most like themselves.

Conclusions

Extent of social contact appears to have little effect on opinions of culturally different people as indicated on a semantic differential scale. Subjects were more positive in rating their own groups than Canadian Indians with this technique.

Other

On the Ethnocentrism Questionnaire, Group 2 teachers had higher mean scores in ethnocentrism than Group 1 teachers (3.00 to 1.85). The social studies questionnaires indicated similar curricula for both

groups, except that a Group 2 grade one class had visited the Indian reserve. Reactions of the pupils in this study who had participated in this trip were mixed.

Conclusions

Extent of social contact seems to have an influence on the ethnocentrism of teachers, but no measure was taken to determine the effects of a teacher's ethnocentrism on his students. Thus the extent of the above influence is indeterminate.

General Summary of Conclusions

This exploratory study seemed to indicate that:

1(a,b). Canadian children do not appear to be highly aware of themselves as members of particular Canadian cultural groups at any age level in this study.

1(c). Canadian children identify more with the cultural group having similar language usage as themselves, than with the cultural group having an ancestral origin similar to themselves.

2(a). Canadian children of elementary school age have already developed feelings and attitudes toward different Canadian cultural groups. They show more affection for cultural groups which they perceive as being similar to themselves, and less affection for those perceived as being dissimilar.

2(b). Affection toward culturally dissimilar

people increases with age, with the most affection shown by the 10 year olds. The 6 year old children show more dislike than other age levels for cultural groups who have different physical and linguistic characteristics, while the 8 year olds dislike more than other age levels those with different language usage.

2(c). Younger children seem to be negatively influenced by social contact with a culturally dissimilar people, while older children seem to be positively influenced, in the degree of affection shown to these people.

3(a). There is an increase with age in the amount of reciprocity shown to culturally dissimilar people. This reciprocity progresses from none shown by some 6 year olds to an objective understanding of others shown by some older subjects. There is, however, variation in reciprocity shown within each age level.

3(b). The extent of social contact with culturally dissimilar people appears to have little influence on the reciprocity shown toward that people.

3(other). At the elementary school age levels, reciprocity is not firmly established.

3(other). When taking the role of a culturally dissimilar person, there is an increase with age in affection toward others, similar to the increase with age shown from one's own point of view.

4(a). The abilities for social decentration and reciprocity are significantly related.

4(b). Social decentration does not appear to be a necessary prerequisite for cultural understanding.

5(a). Language and Group Belonging are the reasons most often given for choices of friends and groups to belong to as self and as other.

5(b). Older children give more reasons quantitatively, and used more differentiation of reasons, than did younger children. Extent of social contact seems to have an effect on the number of reasons given when role taking but not as self.

This study confirms Piaget's (1967) position which states that the child progresses from a state of being completely centered upon himself to a state where he can separate his own thoughts from an ever widening social universe. It also confirms Flavell's (1966) findings which seem to indicate that the ability for more complex role taking skills develops in middle childhood.

The study provides further confirmation of Selman's (1974) position which states that role taking skills are related to moral development. However the

findings of this study did not agree with Selman's (1971a) and Kohlberg's (1969) claim that the development of role taking skills is necessary for the attainment of specific levels of moral development as measured by the cultural understanding tasks. This disagreement may indicate that further studies in intercultural relationships using a variety of measuring devices are needed before a more definite conclusion can be reached.

IMPLICATIONS

This exploratory study seems to indicate that the understanding of people from other cultures is related to the ability to decenter from one's own point of view for the purpose of taking the perspective of another person. Qualitatively more complex levels of this ability appear to occur with increasing age. This development has implications for intercultural education programs. It would seem that the selection and organization of content, instructional strategies, and learning materials should take into consideration the developmental level of this ability to take another person's viewpoint, as well as the background knowledge and attitudes of the learner.

When the children rated the cultural groups used in this study, and indicated the reasons for their choices, language was the most frequently stated and indicated basis for differentiating between friends or groups. Language was used to a greater extent as a reason for not choosing a group than it was for choosing. It would appear that in a country such as Canada, which has two official languages and a number of other languages used for non-official, personal communication, that language can be not only a uniting influence among people of diverse origins, but also a source of group differentiation and disaffection.

Other characteristics such as physical differences and differences in living habits were also causes of group dislike. The responses given seem to indicate that Canadian children place considerable importance on the differences which they perceive between their own and other cultural groups and this is related to their affection or disaffection for the groups. This has implications for the need to develop a broader self awareness from a Canadian or world perspective. The inclusion in the social studies curricula of more extensive studies of the many cultural groups in Canada could assist children to appreciate that the cultural group to which they may feel they belong is only one of a great many groups to which people feel a sense of belonging within this country and the world. An awareness similar to that of a 'spaceship'

perspective could result.

It is already recognized that the study of other cultures should include more than the accumulation of facts. An understanding and appreciation of another culture's living patterns may create more positive perceptions of and relations with that group. However, some of the six year olds in this study were prevented by their unconscious egocentrism from taking the viewpoint of a Canadian Indian even at the most basic level. The value of programs which require the ability to take another's viewpoint would seem questionable until children are developmentally able to do so.

Questioning techniques should match the developmental levels of ability. To ask children what a person from another culture would think, feel, or do should precede questions asking the child what he thinks another person's perceptions of his (the child's) thoughts, feelings, or actions would be. This latter type of question could contribute at older ages to a greater awareness of self from the other's point of view. For a child to make an objective comparison between some aspect of his cultural group and that of another group would seem to be an ability which only begins to develop between ages eight and ten. Many ten year old children have this ability, but have difficulty in maintaining this objective viewpoint. Since moral development seems to be dependent

on the ability for role taking, the development of moral values arising from the study of other cultures would appear to require questioning which matched the ability for taking different perspectives.

The content of the tasks involved cultural groups of whom the subjects were aware. Comparisons were involved in the ranking and in the higher level reciprocity questions. No tasks necessitated generalizations to all cultural groups, but some children were able to generalize in justifying their level 3 responses to the questions 'Who's more right?' and 'Who's nicer/smarter?'. It would seem that generalizations about cultures should not be expected before age ten, as even at this age not all subjects had this ability.

Affective development is highly crucial to developing cultural understanding. The attitudes and values which children bring to their study of other cultures may influence their appreciation and acceptance of cultural diversity. The younger children indicated stronger disliking toward culturally dissimilar people than did older children. It was beyond the scope of this study to investigate the relationship between attitudes toward other cultures and the ability to take another's viewpoint. However, the ability to take the perspective of another may be a prerequisite to the acceptance of different or unfamiliar characteristics of others. The ten

year old children displayed the most affection for other cultural groups. This may indicate an optimal age period for the intensification of intercultural studies, since the children are developing abilities for taking more complex perspectives and, at the same time, express more affection for other cultures than do the younger children.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Research to determine whether the development of the ability to take other people's points of view can be accelerated or strengthened would appear to be useful for inter-cultural education. Similar research had been conducted in the area of moral development where teaching strategies involve presenting subjects with moral reasoning one stage above their present position. One possible strategy for the development of intercultural understanding might be to present subjects with questions and positions which would require them to take a perspective one level above their present ability to take the viewpoint of others.

Younger children seem to indicate stronger feelings of dislike for culturally dissimilar people than do older children. Younger children also have less developed abilities for taking the perspectives of other people. Research to investigate whether the age trend toward more affection for culturally dissimilar people is a result of

the development of increased ability for role taking would seem important to intercultural education teaching strategies.

Considerable attachment is given to one's own language group and may be the cause of disliking other groups which have different language patterns. Research into teaching strategies which would promote reciprocity among people with differing languages would seem important to intercultural education in Canada.

Research into the development of learning materials designed to encourage students to take the perspective of people who have cultural patterns different from their own would be useful for intercultural education programs.

Further research in other areas of Canada might determine whether similar patterns in the development of cultural understanding exist among the particular combinations of cultural groups in those areas.

CONCLUSION

This study would seem to suggest that considerable development in the ability to understand people with different cultural patterns occurs among elementary school students. It has also shown that Canadian children have developed definite feelings of affection or dislike for particular cultural groups within Canada. It is hoped that further research into the nature and development of

intercultural understanding and in the production of effective instructional strategies and materials will result in greater appreciation and understanding by children of people belonging to different cultural groups.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ETHNOCENTRISM QUESTIONNAIRE

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ETHNOCENTRISM QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Teacher:

Your name is not required as this questionnaire does not concern you as an individual.

Please circle either "YES" or "NO" to answer each question. If you feel very strongly about your response, indicate this with a double circle.

1. Do you think it is part of human nature that there will always be war? YES NO
2. Do you think Canada is a much better place to live because of the many cultural groups that live here? YES NO
3. Do you think there are more contagious diseases nowadays than ever before? YES NO
4. Do you think that teachers should keep in mind that pupils have to be made to work? YES NO
5. Do you think that there would be more cooperation and understanding between people of different races and religions if they had more social contact? YES NO
6. Do you think there is only one right way to do anything? YES NO
7. Do you think it is advisable to be friends with someone who has different values from your own? YES NO
8. Do you think the schools should take an active part in stimulating social change? YES NO
9. Do you think disadvantaged people deserve more consideration from others than advantaged people? YES NO
10. Do you think that a person must be careful or else somebody will take advantage of him/her? YES NO
11. Do you think that someday a nuclear holocaust will destroy the world? YES NO
12. Do you think that Canada should trust the United States? YES NO

APPENDIX B

SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM QUESTIONNAIRE

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SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Teacher

Your assistance in completing this questionnaire would be greatly appreciated. All comments which you make are of objective interest only to the researcher and will be treated with confidentiality.

1. What topics comprised your class's Social Studies program this year?

2. What groups of people, either within Canada or internationally, were studied by your pupils in the above topics?

3. Would you describe <u>any</u> pupil reactions or impressions to (2) above which you noticed during the lessons?

APPENDIX C

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

APPENDIX C

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

I think that _____ are

WEAK	___	___	___	___	___	STRONG
FRIENDLY	___	___	___	___	___	UNFRIENDLY
CLEAN	___	___	___	___	___	DIRTY
UGLY	___	___	___	___	___	PRETTY
KIND	___	___	___	___	___	CRUEL
HONEST	___	___	___	___	___	DISHONEST
STUPID	___	___	___	___	___	SMART
GOOD	___	___	___	___	___	BAD

APPENDIX D

SELMAN'S (1974) ROLE TAKING LEVELS

APPENDIX D

SELMAN'S (1974) ROLE TAKING LEVELS

Level 0: Egocentric Role Taking

Distinguishing perspectives.—This stage is characterized by the child's inability to make a distinction between a personal interpretation of social action (either by self or other) and what he considers the true or correct perspective. Therefore, although the child can differentiate self and other as entities, he does not differentiate their points of view.

Relating perspectives.—Just as the child does not differentiate points of view, he does not relate perspectives.

Level 1: Subjective Role Taking

Distinguishing perspectives.—At level 1 the child sees himself and other as actors with potentially different interpretations of the same social situation, largely determined by the data they have at hand. He realizes that people feel differently or think differently because they are in different situations or have different information.

Relating perspectives.—The child is still unable to maintain his own perspective and simultaneously put himself in the place of others in attempting to judge their actions. Nor can he judge his own actions from their viewpoint. He has yet to see reciprocity between perspectives, to consider that his view of other is influenced by his understanding of other's view of him (level 2). He understands the subjectivity of persons but does not understand that persons consider each other as subjects rather than only as social objects.

Level 2: Self-reflective Role Taking

Distinguishing perspectives.—The child is now aware that people think or feel differently because each person has his own uniquely ordered set of values or purposes.

Relating perspectives.—A major development at level 2 is the ability to reflect on the self's behavior and motivation as seen from outside the self, from the other's point of view. The child recognizes that the other, too, can put himself in the child's shoes, so the

child is able to anticipate other's reactions to his own motives or purposes. However, these reflections do not occur simultaneously or mutually. They only occur sequentially. The child cannot "get outside" the two-person situation and view it from a third-person perspective.

Level 3: Mutual Role Taking

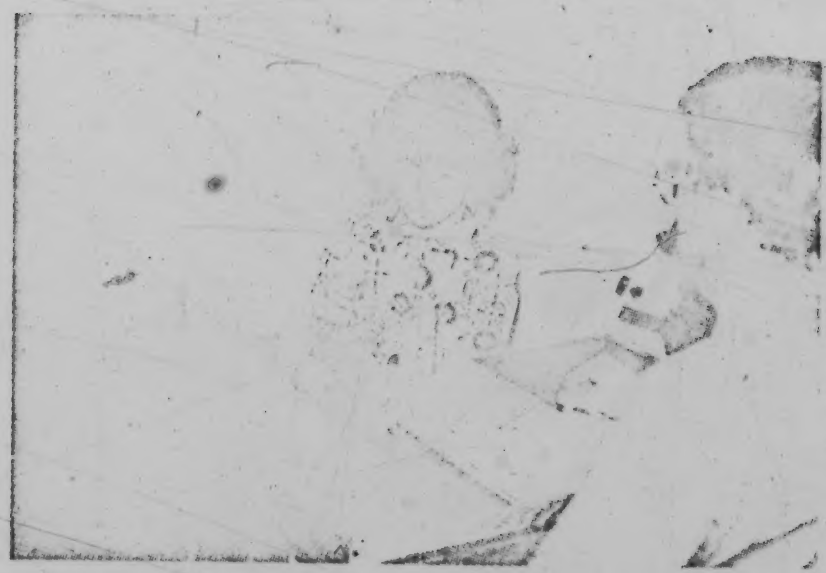
Distinguishing perspectives.—The child can now differentiate the self's perspective from the generalized perspective, the point of view taken by some average member of a group. In a dyadic situation he distinguishes each party's point of view from that of a third person. He can conceive of the concept of "spectator" and maintain a disinterested point of view.

Relating perspectives.—The child at level 3 discovers that both self and other can consider each party's point of view simultaneously and mutually. Each can put himself in the other's place and view himself from that vantage point before deciding how to react. In addition, each can consider a situation from the perspective of a third party who can also assume each individual's point of view and consider the relationships involved.

APPENDIX E

THE INTERVIEW SETTING

An Interview With an Eight Year Old Subject



An Interview With a Ten Year Old Subject